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11 June 1982

# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 5, March 1982

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Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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## CONSTRUCTIVE POWER OF COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 82 pp 3-13

[Text] The steady expansion of cooperation among socialist countries and their broadened and deepened interaction in all areas of social life are a manifestation of a leading trends in the development of world socialism.

In the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said that we are building a new socialist world and unparalleled relations among countries, relations which are truly just, equal and fraternal. The members of the socialist comity are working to strengthen the positions of socialism in the international arena and for peace and detente. They are joining efforts in resolving major economic and scientific and technical problems and are actively cooperating in ideology, culture and other areas of social life. The more significant the accomplishments of the individual countries and the more active their interaction become, the more substantial and richer becomes the common gain of the socialist coalition -- its collective experience.

The national and international task of the fraternal parties is to make fuller and more effective use of such experience. The skillful use of everything that is best best and progressive in our nations and countries means the committment of new forces, avoiding the search for already obtained solutions, eliminating the repetition of errors and the reaching of historical objectives faster and at a lesser cost. The vital importance of this task was noted during the Crimean meetings held between Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and the leaders of the fraternal parties an countries. It was also indicated at the recently held congresses of communist and workers parties of the socialist countries and the international conferences of their central committee secretaries.

The problem of ensuring the closer study and broader utilization of the experience of the fraternal parties was broadly raised by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th congress.

Such formulation of the problem proves again and again the internationalist nature of our party and expresses its typical spirit of innovation and creative search. This CPSU approach reflects the party's Marxist-Leninist understanding of and attitude toward any national-egotistic, narrow-minded, exclusive and autarchic development which hinders live progress. This

approach is based on our view that collective revolutionary experience is a priceless treasury of knowledge which the communists have the direct duty to master. That is how V. I. Lenin formulated the problem and that is how our party is formulating it today.

Lenin considered the establishment of socialism on a national and international scale as a process of collective revolutionary creativity and close cooperation among working people in all countries. "All nations," he wrote, "will come to socialism. This is inevitable. However, not all of them will reach it in the same way. Each one of them will introduce a variety of one form of democracy, dictatorship of the proletariat or pace of socialist reorganization of the various aspects of social life or another" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 30, p 123). Integral socialism, Lenin pointed out, will come from the revolutionary cooperation among the proletariat of all countries (Ibid., Vol 36, p 306).

In this case, V. I. Lenin emphasized the urgent need to follow closely the struggle of the revolutionary units of the working class and to analyze, sum-up and make practical use of their experience. After the Soviet system had already been established, speaking of the basic prerequisites for the successes of bolshevism, Lenin identified as one of them the fact that revolutionary Russia had broader international relations and better information on worldwide forms and theories of the revolutionary movement than any other country (Ibid., Vol 41, p 8).

While pointing out the need to use the international experience of the class struggle waged by the working people, Lenin insistently emphasized that it is a question of real revolutionary experience. He tirelessly repeated that the distinct features in building socialism are nothing but the result of the skillful adaptation of the general laws to the national conditions and characteristics of one country or another.

The sociopolitical practice and historical reality of the fraternal states proved the accuracy of Lenin's understanding of the matter. As was noted at our 26th party congress, not one of the now existing socialist countries mechanically duplicated the ways, means and methods of any other. Nevertheless, despite all the different forms of revolutionary transition to socialism, and the entire variety of methods applied in building socialism in these countries, the universal principles which allow us to speak of the socialist nature of the changes which were made in them were clearly apparent.

The acknowledgment of the universal laws of socialism is the basis for the stand taken by the Marxists-Leninists on the internationalization of the experience of individual countries. In comprehensively embodying "the entire wealth of separate and individual factors" (Ibid., Vol 29, p 90) and general rules, socialism condenses within itself the most essential features of the experience of each individual socialist country.

All national experience in the building of socialism is worthy of great interest, close attention and respect. However, it becomes international when its consistency with the basic features and characteristics of socialism

has been confirmed and successfully tested through the practical experience of another country.

In other words, the international experience of world socialism includes both the general laws governing the building of the new society and its essential features and characteristics as well as the most effective specific ways, means and methods of organization and management, the viability of which has been confirmed by the practical experience of several countries.

Contemporary socialist development is characterized by the expanded scale of internationalization of the experience of the fraternal countries and its importance in terms of the successful development of each one of them. Never before have the establishment and building of socialism in an individual country been so closely and profoundly related to the existence, achievement and experience of all fraternal countries. Under the circumstances in which socialism is developing in a number of countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America the skillful use of international experience is becoming a factor of tremendous importance, which greatly determines the historical time, scale and depth of socioeconomic change in the individual countries.

The socialist comity entered the 1980s with very rich collective experience. At the same time, the need for its reciprocal utilization has increased and all the necessary conditions to this purpose have been made available.

When an entire group of countries took the path of socialism more than 35 years ago, it could rely on the practical experience of only a single socialist state -- the Soviet Union. In the unanimous view of the fraternal parties, this rich experience which had been acquired the hard way was of priceless significance. "The experience in building a new society in the Soviet Union -- the first socialist country in the world," Comrade Janos Kadar pointed out, "became an intrinsic part of the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. The close study of this experience and its application, based on the specific conditions in the individual countries and on specific situations, is easing the work of all nations which have taken or will take the path of socialist development." "We are applying the tremendous theoretical and practical experience of the Soviet Union," Comrade Erich Honecker has pointed out, "in accordance with our specific circumstances." The heads of the other fraternal parties have repeatedly expressed similar views on the importance of the Soviet experience.

A variety of national experiences has been acquired in resolving complex problems in all fields of social life in the course of building socialism. The contribution of the individual countries to the treasury of universally significant experience has increased considerably and become more important.

The international experience in building a new world is being steadily enriched also in the course of the extensive cooperation and increasingly closer interaction among fraternal peoples. The members of the socialist comity have developed an efficient mechanism for collective decision making and implementation. The common socioeconomic and political system, similarity of domestic problems and unity of foreign policy objectives create conditions for the more efficient use of collective experience.

Global socialism has become more mature also from the viewpoint of the development of its economic base, social relations, political system and socialist democracy. Despite the many factors which made their development more difficult, the CEMA-member countries remained the most dynamically developing group of countries in the world in the 1970s. They became a great deal closer to each-other. The equalization of the levels of social and economic development of CEMA-member countries, the closeness of their economic objectives and means of achieving them have increased the importance of the all-round exchange of experience in socialist economic management and made it the most important line of integration.

It would be hard to imagine today the confident development of any socialist country and its possibility of resolving problems such as securing power resources or raw materials or applying the latest achievements in science and technology independently of other fraternal countries. However, the far more difficult and drastic increase in the volume of political, socioeconomic, ideological and cultural problems they must resolve require even closer cooperation and unification of forces and use of collective experience.

For example, we know how difficult are the problems which must be resolved today caused by the worsened conditions of obtaining raw materials. This is a global phenomenon affecting the socialist comity as well. This urgently poses the problem of ensuring the increasingly more efficient utilization of energy resources and the adoption of energy and material conservation methods. In this case, the fast dissemination and utilization of the experience of friendly countries is particularly important and valuable.

This is persistently required by the increasing similarity of problems. The European socialist states have now entered the long period of building developed socialism, which is complex in terms of scale and nature of problems to be resolved. This sharply increases the need for a total intensification of the national economy, which requires in particular the extensive search for more advance economic management and control methods.

The essence of the economic strategy, which the 26th CPSU Congress and the congresses of ruling fraternal parties formulated on the basis of the new circumstances, consists of increasing the output of finished products without substantially increasing labor and material resources, but by making better use of existing industrial and scientific and technical potential.

It is entirely clear that this problem can be resolved more easily jointly, through even closer cooperation, and the joint development and efficient utilization of raw material resources and the application of efficient means and methods of economic management developed through the practice of building socialism in the different countries.

The study and mastery of international experience, and the collective study of the situation and the leading trends in the development of socialism help us to see long-range developments more clearly and to earmark jointly the landmarks to be followed. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev explained this clearly and profoundly by using the example of the work done on the new Soviet constitution. He pointed out that the close study of the experience of the

fraternal countries had made it possible to enrich some constitutional provisions. At the same time, as the leaders of the socialist states pointed out, the new USSR Constitution is useful in defining their future development. "All in all," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "this is nothing but the accumulation of collective experience in socialist state construction. The richer this experience becomes, the clearer the general laws governing the formation and development of the socialist political system and their international significance become. Naturally, the essence in this case is not the development of patterns for simple duplication, but the development of scientific and practically tried guidelines which will enable the individual countries working under their own specific conditions to find proper solutions to the difficult problems of the assertion and development of socialist statehood and socialist democracy."

The joint study and evaluation of circumstances and, on this basis, the formulation and pursuit of a unified political line are persistently required by the expanding scale and faster pace of global processes, the involvement of an increasing number of countries and peoples in them and the increased interdependence among various phenomena in international life.

The close consideration of collective experience becomes especially necessary in the circumstances of the aggravated struggle between socialism and capitalism, when the efforts of imperialist reaction to undermine the stability of the socialist states and to change the ratio of forces in the world have increased.

Grounds for the energizing of elements hostile to socialism appear wherever errors and blunders committed in the domestic policy of the socialist countries are added to the subversive imperialist activities. This was most clearly indicated at the 26th CPSU Congress. A similar conclusion is also contained in the recently passed CC CPSU decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR."

This conclusion is substantiated by the deep crisis which struck Poland, where all the preconditions for the development of a dangerous course of events appeared: massed attacks from the outside and destructive actions by the internal counterrevolution, the gross errors committed by the former leadership of the People's Republic of Poland in domestic policy and its inactivity toward the class enemy. Not the least important in this series of events is a certain underestimating of the international experience of world socialism -- the violation of the universal laws governing the building of socialism. This led to incomplete socialist changes and even to the retention of some elements of the transitional period.

The Polish events reassert the importance for a ruling party to be concerned with strengthening its leading role and close ties with the masses.

Also based on the international experience of global socialism is the essential conclusion of the importance of pursuing a properly weighed and realistic policy in maintaining economic relations with the capitalism world. Ignoring the danger of depending on the West, whose most reactionary circles consider trade and economic relations with the socialist world an instrument

for attaining their political objectives, could have severe consequences, as the lessons from the Polish crisis proved.

Therefore, life itself emphasizes the universal significance of the need for a thorough consideration of the collective experience of world socialism, the unification of efforts by the socialist countries, the close coordination of their foreign policy actions and their pursuit of an agreed-upon strategic course.

The fact that Comrade L. I. Brezhnev was able to state with full justification at our party's 26th congress that essentially uniform views have been reached on all major problems of socioeconomic development and international policy by the members of the socialist comity is the direct result of the steady interaction among the fraternal parties.

It is the result of the fact that the socialist coalition has established a successfully operating smooth cooperation mechanism and a streamlined and comprehensive system of institutions and forms and methods of collective formulation of policy.

Let us emphasize first of all the importance of summit meetings and talks, including those in the Crimea, the conferences of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and the exchange of party and government delegations.

The tremendous contribution which Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman is making to strengthening the unity and cohesion among socialist countries has been universally acknowledged. In the course of his meetings with the leaders of the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries, above all in the Crimea, future relations among fraternal countries and central problems of world politics are discussed in specific terms. Tasks for the future are earmarked and ideas for the joint solution of problems are formulated. New important initiatives come into being.

Major developments of a socioeconomic nature have been given the green light at the Crimean meetings; here key problems of specialization and production and scientific and technical cooperation have been posed and resolved. This has been embodied in the long-term comprehensive target and bilateral programs for specialization and cooperation between the USSR and the European members of CEMA.

Naturally, the joint foreign policy actions of the fraternal countries have been coordinated and refined during the summit meetings and major international initiatives, which have met with broad universal response, have been formulated.

The Warsaw Pact and CEMA play an important role in the system of reciprocal relations, which ensure coordinated political activities and economic programs. The jointly formulated suggestions of participating countries are having a tremendous impact on the development of the socialist comity and overall global policy. In this respect, the importance of the regular Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee meetings has been universally

recognized. The assessments and conclusions reached at these conferences have given a decisive impetus to the solution of an entire set of problems related to normalizing the situation in Central Europe and the drafting of a system of treaties which consolidated the results of WW II and postwar developments on the continent. The initiatives of the higher political organ of the Warsaw Pact also made convening the European conference in Helsinki possible. Today, despite the attempts of imperialist reaction to spoil achievements, the proposals of the Political Consultative Committee aimed at strengthening peace and the continuation of detente remain within the orbit of global and European policy.

The Committee of Ministers of Defense and the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, which was created for the purpose of ensuring the operative coordination of foreign policy actions, are successfully operating within the framework of the Warsaw Pact.

Conferences of secretaries of central committees of communist and workers parties of members of the socialist comity, at which problems of international relations and ideological and party organizational work are discussed, have become a traditional part of the system of exchange of views and elaboration of a coordinated course of action by the fraternal parties.

The summit meetings set the tone and determine the main directions of the joint activities of the fraternal countries. Their implementation is ensured by the active participation of millions of citizens in the socialist states. The exchange of delegations, conferences and meetings on various levels within the framework of interparty cooperation, consultations among governmental organizations, production relations and spiritual contacts merge within a broad area of international interaction. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev described this beneficial process in the following statement he made at the 26th CPSU Congress: "Relations among countries have been described as international from way back. However, it is only in our time, in the socialist world, that they have truly become relations among nations. They involve the direct participation of millions and millions of people. This, comrades, is an essential gain of socialism and its great contribution to mankind."

Close interaction, the formulation of collective decisions, joining forces for the implementation of key national economic assignments and skillful utilization of friendly progressive experience are powerful boosters of economic progress.

It was precisely from this viewpoint that the socialist countries proceeded when they created CEMA in 1949. By then it had already been established that CEMA's most important tasks would include the exchange of economic experience and mutual aid in raw material supplies, food, machines, equipment, etc.

Tremendous experience in the collective search for essentially new methods of multilateral economic cooperation and coordinated solution of vital economic problems has been acquired by CEMA during the more than 30 years since its creation. A socialist type of international division of labor is being organized and strengthened within CEMA. Increasing integration processes have become an inseparable feature in the life of our comity.



The comprehensive program for socialist economic integration adopted by CEMA raised the cooperation among its members to a higher level. The implementation of the program considerably increased economic interaction and helped to organize long-term cooperation among enterprises and entire industrial sectors in the socialist states.

In expressing the objective requirement of global socialism at the present stage, our party's 26th congress called for expanding the coordination of plans by coordinating economic policy as a whole. The CC CPSU accountability report pointed out that problems such as a rapprochement among the structures of the economic mechanisms, the further development of direct relations among ministries, associations and enterprises involved in cooperation and the creation of joint companies were on the agenda. Other forms of unification of the efforts and resources of the socialist countries were also considered possible. This was unanimously supported by the fraternal parties.

The regular exchange of experience in improving economic planning and management is a promising direction in cooperation. It is one of the basic methods of joint planning by CEMA countries. The comprehensive program, which was collectively drafted by the fraternal parties, emphasizes that these countries "deem the systematic exchange of experience on improving the systems of national economic planning and management on the basis of the Leninist principles of economic management and above all in terms of the role and functions of state planning necessary, taking into consideration the specific conditions of the individual countries and the further development of cooperation among the members of CEMA."

Such work is being done by the various CEMA organs at its committee meetings and by its sectorial commissions and other collective organs. Separate national experience in improving planning methods is closely considered by the Conference of Deputy Chairmen of Central Planning Organs of CEMA-Member Countries. In recent years they have discussed important problems such as the interconnection among long-term, medium-term and annual plans, the role and place of comprehensive programs in the planning and management system, methods for the national planning of most important integration measures and public production effectiveness indicators.

Consultations on such matters have helped to improve the quality of planning, the formulation of a coordinated approach for resolving many problems of planning methodology and the creation of prerequisites for the further development of multilateral cooperation. Broad reciprocal familiarization with planning practices leads to the more profound study of individual features of national management systems, the identification of problems which must be developed on a multilateral basis, the organization of closer contacts, the need to compare one's work against the achievements of one's colleagues, etc.

Unquestionably, the possibility of extensive familiarization with the collective experience acquired in socialist economic management is especially important to the young CEMA members such as Cuba and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. This also enhances its importance in terms of the successful development of the other fraternal countries as the participants in the 35th CEMA session (1981) emphasized. They unanimously favored the increased

exchange of experience in economic planning and management with a view to a possible rapprochement among the structures of the national economic mechanisms. In his address at the session, Comrade N. A. Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, particularly noted the importance of having a reliable system for summing-up international experience in this area, assessing its individual elements and ensuring the extensive dissemination of information on anything that is truly valuable.

Such interest and attention are entirely natural. The shaping and development of the economic mechanism of the new social system is one of the most important features in the building of socialism. Essentially, it is a question of the accurate and fuller use of the socialist economic laws and the formulation of specific economic management methods consistent with the level reached in the development of production forces.

Naturally, the socialist economic mechanism does not improve by itself. This process is systematically guided and controlled by the ruling parties of the socialist countries and is an indivisible part of their economic policy.

The search for more efficient methods of economic planning and management was energized at the beginning of the 1980s. This was directly related to the need of most socialist countries to convert to intensive development.

The efforts made by the fraternal countries were based on the aspiration to upgrade management efficiency, to make the fullest possible use of economic tools and material incentives and to ensure further rapid development by creating conditions for increasing the initiative and interest in end results of economic activities directly in the labor collectives on the basis of socialist planned economic management.

As we know, our country was the first to take the path of planned economic management. Soviet practical experience in that area was and remains of tremendous international importance. It was precisely the USSR which discovered and mastered a number of key methods of socialist economic management based on the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. It was the first to initiate a system of centralized nationwide planning and the use of economic levers. Cost effectiveness and socialist competition were developed. The achievements in the theory and practice of Soviet planning are the universally accepted foundations of socialist planned economic management.

At the same time, our country faced the task of improving the economic mechanism and making it consistent with the requirements of the 1980s. This was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress. The November 1981 CC plenum which, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, was the direct extension of the work of the 26th congress, paid particular attention to problems of economic planning and management.

As was emphasized at the plenum, the management organs and the entire planning and incentive system must focus on improving the work of the basic production units -- the enterprises and associations. This must also be the objective of the planning indicator, material and technical supply and

formation and utilization of incentive fund systems. As we know, a future Central Committee plenum will deal with management improvements.

In the course of its extensive search for the most effective and modern economic management methods, our party does not limit itself to its own experience. It has always attentively and understandingly considered the efforts of its friends. Now as well, after more than 30 years of experience acquired by the socialist comity, after the fraternal countries have gained varied experience, this interest has naturally increased.

The 26th CPSU Congress, which called for the closer study and broader utilization of the experience of the fraternal countries, drew attention to the skillful organization of the work of Hungarian agricultural cooperatives and enterprises and the valuable experience in production rationalization and energy, and raw and other material conservation in the GDR. The Czechoslovak social insurance system has many interesting and valuable features. Bulgaria and many other European socialist countries have developed useful agro-industrial cooperation methods.

The Soviet press extensively covers the specific experience of our friends. We know, for example, the great successes achieved in recent years in Hungarian agriculture, which has assumed leading positions in the world. This was the result of a comprehensive approach, an efficiently organized cost-effectiveness system, the application of the latest scientific achievements, the strict observance of technological norms and the skillful combination of the possibilities offered by large-scale socialist production -- cooperatives and state farms -- with those of the private auxiliary plots.

Bulgaria has gained positive experience in agroindustrial cooperation. Here the development of interesting organizational means of bringing together cooperative and state agricultural enterprises at all production levels was followed by the extensive use of a variety of material incentive methods.

Fruitful results have been achieved through the efficient organization of norming, incentives, thrifty use of material resources and the mass competition among working people for economy and thrift in the GDR. In recent years, the republic has ensured the dynamic growth of its national income and industrial output essentially without increased consumption of fuel and raw and other materials.

The central departments, the Gosplan, the State Committee for Science and Technology, the Gossnab, the sectorial ministries and departments, the scientific institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences and other organizations are studying the experience of our friends. The USSR Gosplan and the State Committee for Science and Technology have set up special units in charge of studying the experience in national economic planning and management in the socialist countries. A special interdepartmental council was recently organized to coordinate all of these efforts and to draft proposals on the expediency of applying in the USSR the specific experience of the socialist countries.

The CPSU bases the study and utilization of the achievements of its friends on the fact that each socialist country adopts that which it finds most suitable and useful. It is only on such a basis that the exchange of experience becomes a factor in the acceleration of economic development.

The direct and extensive interaction and cooperation among party, economic and trade union organizations and production collectives in the fraternal countries are of tremendous importance in gaining collective experience and its study and utilization. Friendly relations have assumed a truly mass nationwide nature in recent years. In the Soviet Union 127 republics, krais, oblasts and cities are cooperating with 184 okrugs, oblasts provinces, voyevodstvos, aymaks, districts and cities in the fraternal countries. A total of 1,300 production collectives in our country are maintaining direct relations with about 1,500 enterprises in the socialist countries. This represents hundreds of thousands of working people, economic managers, production frontrankers, industry and agriculture specialists and workers in culture and the arts. The toiling masses themselves are active participants in the process of all-round interaction among socialist countries.

The on-site exchange of experience, study of economic management practices and exchange of information on achievements in industry, agriculture, cultural construction, ideological work and so on are enriching the specific organization of the work and its means and methods applied in the different countries and are uniting the peoples.

Let us also emphasize that today exchange of experience has become a real school of political and international education of the working people. It strengthens trust and mutual understanding, deepens the feelings of brotherhood and friendship among nations and enhances the international self-awareness of the people.

Socialist internationalism is the internationalism of action. It is characterized by an awareness of reciprocal interests and readiness to extend aid and support. The extensive and live contacts among working people make it possible to see even more clearly the focal point of the efforts of the fraternal parties and the specific reasons for their approach to the solution of one problem or another. The shaping of a profoundly internationalist awareness among the working people in the course of such cooperation is a most important direction in our party's work.

The CPSU relates the further development of socialist integration to the strict operational efficiency of our enterprises. Now, when the members of the socialist coalition are strengthening their ties of economic cooperation even further, when specialization deepens and the scale of production cooperation is expanding, the strict high-quality and prompt implementation of contractual obligations has become a matter of governmental importance.

Friendly relations among fraternal countries and peoples are an organic element of the rapprochement, which is expressing more and more noticeably the leading trend in the development of the socialist comity. Such relations affect practically all levels of the party, soviet and economic organism. The party organizations, the economic organs and their managements and all

party members must make better use of the very rich opportunities in this respect and upgrade the effectiveness of cooperation and its returns.

Purposefulness, a system and efficient organization are particularly necessary in this work. It is important accurately to define the objective of exchanges of delegations and the specific problems which must be resolved with their help. Naturally, such cooperation must culminate in practical recommendations and suggestions aimed at the use of friendly progressive experience and the development of mutually profitable production and scientific and technical cooperation with friends. Real results are the only true measure of cooperation effectiveness. It is the duty of the party committees in enterprises, organizations and establishments to promote friendly relations with the respective organizations in the fraternal countries and to control the mastery and utilization of their experience.

The central committees of communist parties of union republics and the party kraykoms and obkoms must play an important role in energizing the exchange of experience and improving its efficiency. Their ideological and organizational influence on the development of international relations and improving its efficiency has improved lately. With increasing frequency, cooperation with the respective collectives and establishments in the fraternal countries is being organized on the basis of comprehensive target planning and in accordance with the long-range program for the study of experience. The enterprises, organizations and establishments are being issued specific assignments. Unquestionably, this is a proper approach.

During this decade, the socialist comity will be resolving a variety of increasingly more intensive and difficult problems of the shaping and development of mature socialism. This will have to be accomplished under more difficult circumstances. Imperialism's intrigues are becoming increasingly refined and treacherous. It is energizing its efforts to divide the socialist countries and to prevent the progress of the new social system.

The importance of socialist internationalism and the factors encouraging the unification, cooperation and interaction among fraternal countries has greatly increased today. The long experience gained in the development of world socialism convincingly proves that the pulling of efforts and resources, intensification of the division of labor and all-round cooperation are multiplying the strength of our countries and helping them successfully to resolve even the most difficult socioeconomic problems.

The study and practical use of the experience of our friends is now becoming a matter of growing political significance and practical importance. Properly organized, it can become a real material force which can speed up the socioeconomic progress of the individual socialist countries and the socialist comity as a whole.

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CONCERN FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE AND PRODUCTION -- AT THE CENTER OF ATTENTION  
OF THE TRADE UNIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 82 pp 14-23

[Speech by L. I. Brezhnev delivered at the 17th Congress of USSR Trade Unions  
on 16 March 1982]

[Text] Dear comrades!

Dear foreign guests!

Our party's Central Committee Politburo has instructed me to address the congress of Soviet trade unions. This is a responsible and honorable assignment. A trade union congress is a major event in the country's political life. Represented here are the widest toiling strata, the envoys of those whose labor -- in the fullest and loftiest meaning of the term -- is the base of the greatness and power of our homeland (applause).

Now, when the trade union movement has been extended to both town and country, including the kolkhozes, the trade unions have become a unique organization of the working people both in terms of membership -- 130 million -- and qualitative characteristics.

On the ideological level, this reemphasizes the fact that the outlook of the working class, which has always been the backbone of the trade union movement, defines the ideological positions of all classes and social strata in Soviet society. On the political level, this means that the division between town and country is continuing to disappear and that physical and intellectual labor are becoming increasingly similar. The participation of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the toiling intelligentsia in the trade unions is an important indicator of the growing unity among the Soviet people and the all-round progress achieved by the developed socialist society (applause).

Allow me, dear comrades, to offer to you, the delegates to this congress, and to those who elected you to represent them, the warm and sincere greetings of the CC CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Soviet government (lengthy applause). I congratulate all those who are present here on the occasion of the opening of the regular 17th Congress of Trade Unions (lengthy applause).

Comrades! The trade unions occupy an important position in the political system of Soviet society. They are a powerful means of the development of democracy and the involvement of the working people in the building of communism. This was precisely the way this question was formulated at the 26th party congress. I am pleased to note that the Soviet trade unions are playing an important, an irreplaceable role in resolving the comprehensive problems posed by our active and dynamic age. That is as it should be (lengthy applause).

Without in the least pre-empting the AUCCTU accountability report or the debates which will follow, allow me to share with you a few thoughts related to trade union work and tasks.

We are all familiar with Lenin's statement that the trade unions are a school of management, a school of communism. They express the essence of the Leninist concept of the trade union movement under socialist conditions. Under the Soviet system, several generations of working people have attended this school. With every new generation, the trade unions combined more and more firmly concern for the growth of public production with concern for the working and living conditions of every working person, the safeguarding of his rights and the enhancement of his well-being.

Tremendous work has been done along these main directions of trade union activities and valuable experience has been gained in enhancing the creative activeness of the working people. I am referring to workers meetings and standing production conferences in which the voice of every working person can be heard. I am referring to the socialist competition, which is a powerful lever of economic growth. I am referring to the counterplans, the movement of inventors and rationalizers and the application of leading experience and creative initiatives and steps aimed at upgrading labor productivity, ensuring the rational utilization of the latest achievements of science and technology, the conservation of resources and quality improvements.

The arsenal of means with which the trade unions are able to influence social processes, economic development and the education of the masses is vast and varied. But is it used sufficiently effectively? Obviously not. This has been extensively discussed at trade union meetings and conferences and sectorial and republic trade union congresses. It would be suitable and useful for this practical self-critical feeling, which was quite clearly manifested in the course of the accountability and election campaign, to be not only strengthened but to receive a new impetus at the congress of USSR trade unions (applause).

The task is to reorganize the work of the trade union organizations more rapidly and energetically in accordance with present-day requirements. The trade unions must undertake more boldly the solution of new economic and social problems. They must rely on scientific data more extensively and must steadily upgrade the skills of their aktiv. The trade union worker of our time must be distinguished by his competence, a keener feeling for the new, closest possible ties with the masses, attentiveness toward the people and knowledge of the human soul.

We have repeatedly seen that each stage of development creates its own problems, ascribes them a new specific content and calls for new approaches to their resolution. Let us consider the economy. Its scale has changed. The nature of labor has changed as well, and so have the key directions in economic construction. Today the common objective of state organs, the economic apparatus and, naturally, the trade unions is to convert the economy to the track of intensive growth.

In my view, comrades, to reach every single worker, to help him to accept and understand the requirements of the party's economic policy, and to prove to him convincingly that it is precisely this policy which is consistent with his vital interests, for which reason it is his duty to contribute to its complete success through his initiative and creative search is the most relevant task of the trade unions during the 11th Five-Year Plan (lengthy applause).

How to organize the work at each specific sector better and more effectively? How to use the achievements of scientific and technical progress not in general but in specific terms geared to the individual workplace? What must be done to upgrade labor productivity and to ensure the strictest possible conservation of material and manpower resources in a given production facility or sector? Such questions must be answered not only by the administrations but by the trade unions as well. It is very important for each trade union and organization to be maximally specific in its work and most efficient in translating the party's stipulations into practical achievements. We must bestir ourselves, we must work and accomplish things (lengthy applause).

We are already in the second year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. In adopting the resolutions of the 26th party congress as their own, the Soviet people are marching forward with firm confidence in their strength and a clear understanding of the difficulty and greatness of the problems to be resolved. This is what determines the efficient labor rhythm in the country and ensures the conscientious efforts of the working people in town and country.

Today we can express with full justification our profound gratitude to the collectives of enterprises and organizations which are successfully fulfilling and overfulfilling their obligations, and are performing enthusiastic shock work (applause). Allow me, comrades, to address from this rostrum words of gratitude to the trade unions as well. They share in our successes and accomplishments most directly (applause).

We have thousands of frontrankers and leading enterprises. Metaphorically speaking, they have scouted the battlegrounds and seized important bridgeheads. However, as we know, victory cannot be won by scouts alone. Therefore, we must now tighten up the entire front and mount a general offensive. The place of the trade unions is in the front ranks of the advancing labor army (lengthy applause).

Comrades! Vital and relevant problems affecting the interests of all working people, of the entire nation, have always been posed at trade union congresses. One of them now is the question of food supplies. The party and



the government are well aware of existing difficulties and are doing everything they can to resolve them. The CC CPSU plenum will be dealing with the food program which will earmark the means for the radical resolution of this important problem. However, agriculture and related industrial sectors face a number of vital problems which brook no delay and which can and must be dealt with immediately if food supplies are to improve.

This is a tremendous field of action for the trade unions. It is their direct obligation to draw the attention of the public on improving the preservation of products and fighting losses. The trade union organizations in sovkhozes and kolkhozes must pose sharply and resolve problems related to the use of all local opportunities for goods processing. The trade unions must not ignore the auxiliary farms of enterprises and the private plots. They must find specific means for developing the initiative and activeness of all organizations and workers involved in food production. I ask you, comrades, to consider this.

Another question I would like to discuss deals with an entirely different area: the question of the new forms of brigade organization and labor incentives. In as much as they upgrade production efficiency they are entirely consistent with the party's current economic strategy. As we know, these methods must become most widespread during the current five-year plan.

The complex brigades working on the basis of a single order are achieving considerable savings in terms of time and labor and material resources. They maintain stronger discipline, their output is higher and their young members learn their skills more quickly. Naturally, their labor productivity is also higher. Let me cite a single example: at the end of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the labor productivity of construction workers in contracting brigades was higher by one third compared with the sectorial average. This, as you can see, is an impressive difference.

The well organized and efficiently and, allow me to say, intelligently working brigade is a true school of management skills for workers. It is an experimental laboratory for all kinds of creative initiative. In the course of their work and daily joint labor the members of such a brigade acquire both economic and political knowledge, which are very necessary today. In such brigades a true feeling of ownership of the plant, of the entire country is hammered out (applause).

Although the advantages of such brigades seem self-evident, the brigade method is being applied sluggishly and not always systematically. Some brigades fold up. Why is this?

By creating a brigade the progressive workers express their willingness and readiness to assume responsibility for the timely and qualitative implementation of their labor assignment fully and comprehensively. Unfortunately, however, not all economic managers are willing to provide it with the proper working conditions and to assume their share of responsibility. The influence of shortcomings in the organization of the production process and conservative thinking is also felt. All of this undermines the very essence of the brigade -- its cost effectiveness.

Consequently, in order to give the cost effective brigade the green light we must continue with the reorganization of the economic mechanism, improve material and technical procurements, and struggle against formalism in labor planning and accounting. I am confident that the trade unions -- each one within its own sector and department -- will actively and persistently join in the organization and strengthening of this progressive form of labor organization (applause).

Naturally, the problem of trade union participation in improving the economic mechanism goes beyond the subject of brigades. How better to combine the individual interests of the worker with those of the enterprise and society as a whole? How to reduce manual labor to a minimum and release "surplus" people, who are no surplus at all, and to reduce manpower shortages in other sectors? How to make the link between labor and wages most direct and obvious? The answer to such questions must not come exclusively from scientific centers and scientists. The production collectives and workers meetings could and should make a great contribution in answering these and other questions.

Those who are wisened by practical experience must be listened to and their views must be summed-up. And it is precisely the trade unions which must help to achieve this (applause).

Comrades! Concern for the development of the economy is inseparably related to concern for improving the life of the working people. It is impossible to ensure the growth of prosperity without the necessary development of production. At the same time, the development of production itself will be the more successful the better living and working conditions become. This is axiomatic in a socialist way of life. The more mature our society becomes the more attention we can and must pay to the daily needs of the working people in terms of housing, nutrition, services, health care and education, to everything which affects the well-being and mood of the people.

It may be asked whether the trade unions have already fulfilled their task of protecting the interests and rights of the working people in the state of the working people, which expresses the interests and desires of the entire nation. No, they have not. Naturally, our trade unions are protecting the working people not from the state, not from the boss, as is the case in the capitalist countries. They are protecting them from violations of Soviet laws by individual or organs.

The trade unions must be intolerant of any violations of legal stipulations and labor legislation. This, however, is not sufficient. The purpose of trade union activities is to create the type of environment which will exclude the very possibility of violating the rights of the working person and make inconceivable any manifestation of conceit and indifference, which are still shown by some managers.

The trade unions must always keep bureaucracy in their sight. I hope that you will not hold it against me, comrades, when I say that even some trade union workers are not insured against this fault.

It is clear that the trade unions, which are an organization whose aim is to solve difficult and varied problems, must have a proper machinery. It is equally clear that the effectiveness of this machinery depends less on its size than its properly planned structure, organization and operational efficiency. Can we say that here everything is in order? Obviously not.

The main thing is for the trade union personnel to be involved more with people and less with paper work. They must rely more firmly on the trade union aktiv, on the initiative-minded and energetic rank and file members (applause). In other words, here again the best cure for bureaucracy is the all-round development of socialist democracy (lengthy applause).

The trade unions must keep in sight both the labor collective as a whole and the individual, who has his own specific features and characteristics. They must show constant concern for the development of the type of atmosphere and sociopsychological and moral climate in production in which the best features of the Soviet character, the best qualities of the Soviet person will be revealed most clearly. It is entirely suitable to mention this at the present congress.

While comprehensively supporting everything that is progressive and promoting respect for everyone who works honestly, the trade unions, like our entire public, must remain intolerant of drunks, waste-makers, hacks, and wasters of the people's good, for such people, although few in number, are shaming the good reputation of the working person. They must be punished both morally and materially. Clearly, we should think about this in the course of completing and improving our labor legislation (applause).

Let me share with the delegates to this congress another consideration. The CC CPSU and, as I have been informed, the AUCCTU have been receiving many letters complaining of shortcomings in the allocation of housing and the organization of trade, public catering and health care. The time has obviously come to organize stricter control in these work sectors.

Naturally, some could say that we have people's control and public control commissions and groups. Yes, we do. But let us ask ourselves: do our controllers always control properly and efficiently? Probably not, for otherwise no such letters would have been received.

Therefore control, particularly in the areas directly related to the daily requirements of the people, must become more effective, informal and frank. This is a trade union task of tremendous political importance and profound democratic meaning.

The trade union committees must cooperate more actively with the soviet authorities in all matters affecting the people's vital interests. In turn, the soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees cannot work efficiently without interacting with the trade unions. Cooperation between them must be strengthened at all levels, including the highest (applause).

Comrades! The further broadening of the rights and obligations of the trade unions, the enhancement of their authority and the strengthening of their ties with the masses are among the important directions which must be followed in the development of socialist democracy.

The party has always demanded of all social organizations, including the trade unions naturally, to carry out their obligations in the best possible manner and to reflect ever more completely, in Lenin's words, the vital and sensitive needs of the masses. This also enables the party and the state to express through their policies the will and interests of the people, of all strata in our society.

The party has total faith in the trade unions. It sets a high value to their activities and respects their organizational autonomy. Through its authority the party -- the leading force in Soviet society -- helps the trade unions to enhance their influence. The proper and efficient cooperation between party organs and trade unions makes the solution of even the most difficult problems possible -- whether in the area of economics or social problems or in cultural construction and the spiritual development of the Soviet people.

The enemies of socialism -- bourgeois ideologists, reformists and revisionists -- have long hoped for a split between the trade unions and the Marxist-Leninist parties. They are actively promoting the theory of trade union "neutrality." However, this is nothing but an attempt to lead the trade union on the path of bourgeois politics and betrayal of the interests of the working class.

While implementing their own tasks, the party, the state and the trade unions in our country are working together, jointly. This is the guarantee for the success of communism. No one will be able to shake this unity (lengthy applause)!

Comrades! our party and people rate the international activities of the Soviet trade unions highly. Such activities for the sake of the interests of the working people and the consolidation of peace have earned deserved recognition on the part of our class brothers abroad. This is confirmed, among others, by the presence here of a large number of foreign guests. Let us greet them warmly and wish them success in their great work which is of such high importance to many millions of working people (applause)!

Unity among the working people of all countries and among their trade unions is needed more than ever today. They share many common interests, above all an interest in eliminating the threat of war, stopping the arms race, and preserving and strengthening detente. This was clearly indicated at the 10th World Trade Union Congress, which proved the growing desire for unity and cohesion on a class and anti-imperialist basis, for joining forces in the struggle against the threat of war and for strengthening peace.

Now as to the international situation as a whole. To say that it is difficult and grave is not enough. It makes us concerned for the entire future development of international relations.

Consider, for example, what happened at the Madrid meeting of participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Achieving security and cooperation was the mandate given to this conference by the nations. Instead, high officials of the U. S. government and some other NATO countries (clearly acting under pressure from Washington) went to Madrid with an entirely different intention: to spoil the international atmosphere as much as possible. The internal Polish events were chosen as a pretext. The representatives of the NATO bloc took it upon themselves to tell the Sejm, the government of the People's Republic of Poland and the PZPR how to resolve their domestic problems. The Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity were slandered. Representatives of governments supporting the most bloody and inhuman regimes on earth conducting reprisals against leaders of the trade unions and other democratic organizations at home, unblushingly made speeches "in defense of human rights."

I repeat, the Polish events were only a pretext. No one will succeed in overturning socialism in Poland (lengthy applause). Obviously, the foreign inspirers of the Polish counterrevolutionaries understand this. Their real purpose in Madrid was to exacerbate the general atmosphere even further and thus to facilitate the implementation of the sinister plans of the United States toward Western Europe. The United States would like to turn Western Europe into a launching pad for the new American missiles and a lightning rod which would absorb the retaliatory strike in a conflict. It would also like to obstruct even further the development of normal economic relations between Western Europe and the socialist countries, for such relations are clearly viewed detrimental by Washington, which considers Western Europe one of its main economic rivals.

Such actions force us to seriously consider the fate of detente and peaceful cooperation in Europe and elsewhere.

Madrid is only one among recent examples. Obviously, international relations today have come to a clearly marked fork.

The first road leads to strengthening peace and developing peaceful cooperation among all countries is based on strict respect for the independence, rights and interests of all countries, nonintervention in their domestic affairs and joint efforts to strengthen the general security and reciprocal trust. This path was clearly indicated in the resolutions of the Helsinki conference and in many other international documents of the last decade. It was confirmed also by the practical experience gained by the peoples during that decade, particularly in Europe.

The second path is the one along which the newly hatched supporters of the cold war and dangerous balancing on the brink of war are urging the peoples.

They would like to abandon the legal and ethical norms governing relations among peoples, which have developed in the course of centuries, and to deprive them of their independence and sovereignty. They are trying to redraw the political map of the world by proclaiming vast areas in all continents zones of their "vital interests." They have assumed the "right"

to issue orders to some nations and to judge and "punish" others. They are openly and shamelessly announcing and trying to implement plans for the economic and political "destabilization" of governments and states they find inconvenient. They welcome with unparalleled cynicism the difficulties experienced by one nation or another. They try to replace normal contacts and international trade with "sanctions" and blockades, and contacts and talks with constant threats of using armed force, including nuclear weapons.

One simply wonders at the sight of all this. Unwittingly the question arises: what is the main reason for such policy? Is it thoughtlessness and inexperience in international affairs or an irresponsible or, frankly speaking, adventuristic approach to the most serious problems which affect the destiny of mankind? This policy has been described as "a course toward political catastrophe" not by us but by the serious bourgeois press in the United States. It would be difficult to question the basis of this description.

As to blockades and "sanctions," let me say that the Soviet Union is a large country with a powerful economy and rich resources. This applies to an even greater degree to the socialist comity as a whole. We can survive all of this, let no one doubt it (lengthy applause). Meanwhile, the development of many countries considered by Washington as its allies depends to a far greater extent on foreign trade. It would be hard to say, therefore, whose interests would be harmed more as a result of a policy of cowboy attacks on international trade and normal economic relations.

Objectively speaking, the course of further exacerbation of the international atmosphere, the intensification of the arms race and the spoiling of normal relations among countries promise nothing good to any nation, including America, but could cause instead a great deal of harm to all mankind. That is why we are firmly convinced that such a course cannot be supported by the peoples and has no future. The sooner its promoters understand this the better it will be for all (applause).

As to the Soviet Union, we are following a firm and steady course of durable peace and peaceful and mutually profitable cooperation among all countries, regardless of their social and political system. Naturally, we would like to see the participants in the Madrid meeting, when it resumes work, to finally undertake to deal with the reason for which it was organized -- the resolution of problems of European security and cooperation and opening the way to a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, which is so urgently needed by the peoples on our continent.

Comrades° The militaristic course and aggressive policy of the NATO bloc, led by the United States, force us to take measures to maintain the country's defense capability on the necessary level. This is a strict requirement in today's world. Naturally, this demands substantial expenditures to the detriment of our plans for peaceful construction. However, as I have frequently had the occasion to say, we are not spending and will not spend a single ruble more than is absolutely necessary for ensuring the safety of our people and its friends and allies (applause). We think of the future not in terms of an endless stockpiling of a mountain of weapons but reaching

sensible agreements with the other side and a reciprocal lowering of the level of military confrontation.

Naturally, in this respect the problem of reducing nuclear armaments in Europe deserves particular consideration. Today this may be considered the key problem in terms of stopping the growing threat of a global nuclear missile war.

Comrades, you are familiar with the specific and far-reaching proposals made by the Soviet Union on this subject, ranging from reducing by a factor of three the nuclear arsenals of both sides, deployed in and assigned for Europe, to the total removal from the continent of medium-range and tactical nuclear missiles. You also know that so far the American side has been avoiding a serious discussion, not to mention resolution, of these problems, hiding behind the absurd demand for unilateral disarmament by the Soviet Union, insultingly described in Washington as the "zero option."

However, we have not lost hope that a sensible accord can be reached on the basis of equality and identical security for both sides. Furthermore, we are doing every thing possible to encourage this through words and actions. I can not inform you, dear comrades, that in an effort to facilitate the reaching of a just accord on a major reduction in nuclear arms by both sides in Europe and wishing to set a good example, the Soviet leadership has decided to observe a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in the European part of the USSR. We shall impose a quantitative and qualitative freeze on such armaments already deployed here and will stop replacing the old SS-4 and SS-5 missiles with the new SS-20.

This moratorium will remain in force either until an agreement has been reached with the United States on a reduction in the number of medium-range nuclear missiles to be deployed in Europe, on the basis of equality and identical security, or else until the U. S. leadership, ignoring the safety of the peoples, will nevertheless take practical steps for the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Europe.

We have also already stated that if a moratorium can be agreed upon by both sides we would be ready, as a gesture of good will, to reduce unilaterally the number of our nuclear missiles in Europe in the expectation of a future agreed-upon reciprocal reduction. We have now decided to take a new step to prove our desire for peace and faith in the possibility of a joint agreement. This very year the Soviet Union intends to reduce on its own initiative a certain number of its medium-range missiles unless there is a new aggravation of the international situation.

In announcing these decisions we are confident that the peoples the world over will appreciate the peacefulness and good will shown by the Soviet Union (lengthy applause). We also hope that our Western partners in the talks will be able to respond to these constructive steps in a spirit of good will.

At the same time, we deem it our duty to issue the following most clear warning: if the governments of the United States and its NATO allies, flouting the desire of the peoples for peace, carry out their plan of

deploying hundreds of new American missiles in Europe, which could hit targets on USSR territory, a different strategic situation would develop in the world. A real additional threat to our country and its allies would be created by the United States. This would force us to take the type of responsive measures which would place the other side in the same situation, including the United States and its territory. This should not be forgotten (applause).

This circumstance is one more reminder of the importance of reaching a USSR-United States agreement on limiting and reducing strategic nuclear armaments, in terms of the fate of the world and reducing the threat of a global nuclear conflagration. As we know, the United States refused to enact the treaty to this effect, which was signed in 1979. To this day, Washington remains unwilling to continue talks on this problem, although it is becoming increasingly graver and more urgent.

To begin with, the implementation of the American plans for deploying new missiles in Europe could destroy the balance currently reached in the strategic arms possessed by the two countries, entailing unpredictable future consequences.

Secondly, the development of new types of mass destruction weapons by both sides (unless stopped by treaty) could invalidate agreements on arms limitation, reduction and control, which are still achievable today.

That is why we call upon the government of the United States to avoid erecting artificial obstructions on the path of SALT talks and to join in such talks as soon as possible. We suggest that until they are resumed both sides undertake the obligation not to open a new channel for the arms race or to deploy long-range cruise sea- and land- based missiles (applause).

In general, we believe that the world situation calls for maximal restraint on the part of the two confronting blocs of countries regarding their military activities. For example, we would be prepared to reach an agreement on reciprocal reduction in naval activities. In particular, we would consider possible an agreement to the effect that missile-carrying submarines on both sides be pulled back from their current vast combat patrol areas and be restricted to reciprocally agreed-upon areas. We would also be ready to discuss the question of extending measures of trust to sea and ocean areas, particularly in the zones of the most active shipping lanes. In a word, we are in favor of turning the widest possible area of the world's oceans into a zone of peace as soon as possible (applause).

These are our new proposals on restraining the arms race and preventing the danger of a new world war. As you can see, comrades, our party and Soviet government are conscientiously fulfilling the instruction of the people and are doing everything possible to justify the hopes of the working people in our country and all mankind for a clear sky over the peaceful planet Earth (lengthy applause).



Comrades, I see that my time is up.

Let me say a few final words. This year marks the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR.

This is a great holiday for our dear homeland, a holiday of friendship among the peoples.

It is the triumph of the Leninist national policy and a good occasion for summing up results and defining and refining our tasks for the future. As we prepare to welcome the great anniversary, we check again and again our actions against the Leninist program for building a new society.

The party's Central Committee calls upon party and nonparty members of all generations and all working people to welcome the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union with new accomplishments in the implementation of the historical decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress (lengthy applause).

Allow me to express my confidence that the trade unions will play an increasingly greater role in the further development of our great multinational state and in the building of communism (lengthy applause).

I wish to one and all of you, dear friends, great successes in work and social activeness, and happiness and joy in life (tempestuous and lengthy applause. The delegates stand up and chant "Glory to the CPSU!" "Long live the Leninist Central Committee!" and "Hurrah!").

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ON THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND OF RUSSIA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 82 pp 24-36

[Article by Al'bertas Laurinchyukas]

[Text] "Where would you advise me to go?" he asked the geographer.

"Visit the planet Earth," the geographer answered. "It has a good reputation..." Antoine de Saint-Exupery.

"Where do you recommend I should go?" the tourist asked.

"Go to Russia," the clerk answered. "You can see many interesting things there." Conversation overheard at the New York office of the Union Tours Travel Agency.

"Tell us more about your travels in Russia," our neighbors would ask my father every time, as they whiled away the long winter evenings.

I would immediately drop whatever I was doing and would approach the men in order to be able to see my father's face outlined in the flickering light of the kerosene lantern and catch every single word. Again and again I followed his steps as he covered the vast distances and walked the streets of huge cities. I could hear the waters of the ocean smashing against the rocks, see lakes bigger than seas and fast rivers teeming with fish....

"These are tales," the neighbors would say skeptically.

"This is the truth," my father would answer.

This happened a long time ago.

Once I was sailing aboard a small vessel going from Bolivia to Peru, across Lake Titicaca. A local Indian I had met on the road proudly said:

"There is no lake in the world bigger than Titicaca!"

"Our Baykal is bigger," I answered.

"Impossible," he said. "Titicaca is the father and mother of all lakes on earth."

By the ruins of ancient Babylon I was talking about stars and people with a bedouin dressed in a white robe.

"Man is weak," the bedouin claimed. "Only Allah is mighty, for it is He who set the sun afire and ordered it to show itself to the people every morning and to hide from them every night."

"In the northern part of my country, in the summer, the sun does not set for months on end," I retorted.

"This can happen only in stories," objected the bedouin laughing. The walls of Babylon, tempered by the sun of centuries, echoed his laughter....

What separates reality different from tales? Almost nothing. Simply tales can sometimes be as incredible as life itself. Extraordinary things happen in life, as though it is a tale.

From the Volga: whose moan is heard on the great Russian River? We call this moan the song of the towing barge haulers!...N. A. Nekrasov, 1858.

The new people on the Volga are building a new life. Howard Soshurek, American journalist, 1973.

It was spring. The wind from the steppe was rippling the silk of the flags, the larks were saluting us from the skies and a band was playing on the airfield. There were a sea of flowers and the happy faces of those welcoming us. Soviet Lithuania's culture days were taking place in Lenin's homeland.

The poet Al'gimantas Baltakis read the poem "Lenin in Vil'nyus." I had heard the poem frequently, but here it sounded in a special way, with added significance and loftiness to it.

Then a song was heard...

Stepping across Europe, fascism had left its traces everywhere. Auschwitz in Poland, Lidice in Czechoslovakia, Buchenwald in Germany, Oradour in France and Pirchyupis in Lithuania. A terrible tragedy struck that small Lithuanian village in the summer of 1944. The fascists destroyed it together with its population. The people were herded into barns and burned alive. Men, women, children, old people, babies and those about to be born perished in the flames. All that remained were ashes.... This was the tragedy descibed in the song by composer Vitautas Laurushas.

As the choir sang, the strong and restrained Volga people were shedding tears. The tragedy of the Lithuanian village could not fail to stagger them. The final chords fluttered away, but the man sitting next to me did not even stir. I noticed the badge worn by former Matthaussen inmates on his lapel.

"I was born twice," Petr Sergeyevich Shchukin told me. "The first time was here, on the Volga. The second was when the gates of the concentration camp opened. In Matthausen, as I stared death in the face, I could dream of one thing only--to look at the Volga just one more time, to draw from it strength, tranquility and firmness. The Russians love this river the way the Lithuanians love the Neman, the Poles the Vistula and the Americans the Mississippi."

In the vicinity of Ul'yanovsk, as though to take a better look at the places related to Lenin's youth, the Volga rises by more than 10 meters. This is the result of the Kuybyshev Hydroelectric Power Plant, whose dam is built further downstream.

I stood on the shore and looked at this broad and great river and at the way it reflected the quick white clouds and the blue skies. Looking at the skies, I saw that the color was different. It was even bluer, full of the songs of the larks. The birds themselves could not be seen but their songs could be heard. Like a flowing river, the sky changes constantly. It is affable when one is in a good moon and stern when the person is in trouble. It becomes unbearably close when we hear the old familiar song "Volga, Volga, Our Mother, Volga, Russian River...."

Once the rich Simbirsk aristocrats and merchants from Samara strolled along this high bank. They were scornful of everything other than money and themselves. Evenings they looked at the Volga colored by the setting sun and listened to the heart-rending songs and moans of the barge towers.

We saw the fires along the Volga and heard the whistles of the big motor ships. Was it of this kind of Volga, decorated with strings of electric lights, powerful yet conquered by man, that Lenin dreamed?

When at the beginning of the 20th century the physicists discovered that the atom is not the smallest elementary particle of matter and that it could be split, the bourgeois ideologues claimed that Marx' materialistic theory had crumbled hopelessly. Lenin convincingly proved that the new discoveries in physics, particularly in the field of atoms, not only did not refute dialectical materialism but, conversely, proved it. Lenin defended the power of human knowledge. Today, not far from his native place, in Dimitrovgrad (formerly Melekess), scientists are designing nuclear power plants.

We traveled across the steppes along the Volga. The window casings in many of the homes were carved. The creative imagination of the people is eternal and inexhaustible, like the source of the Volga.

The stage of the Vil'nyus Palace of Trade Unions was flooded with the sound of Lithuanian folk musical instruments--kankles and birbina--with the happy faces of dancers and singers expressing the active summer followed by the rich autumn: young hands carefully brought onto the stage a loaf of bread on a white towel and salt.

"We have brought here this sacred bread from the banks of the wide Volga, from Lenin's homeland. This is a gift of the Volga graingrowers to the Lithuanian farmers."

This gift--bread and salt from the banks of the Volga--was carefully taken by the graingrowers of the Neman area. Their faces were happy and their steps firm, although one could sense their fatigue. Many of them wore the Order of Lenin on their chests.

Bread and salt....

This is both a greeting and a gesture of well-wishing. It is with bread and salt that the Russians always welcome guests on the thresholds of their homes.

It is with bread and salt that newly married couples, returning home from the marriage palace, are welcomed.

Bread and salt are carried on a tray covered by a white towel, carefully and solemnly, as something which gives life. The recipient kisses the bread, tears off a little bit, dips it in the salt and eats. Everyone is serious when bread and salt are presented, for this is a sacred act of friendship. The noisy celebration begins only afterwards. People meet, embrace and kiss. This custom comes from many centuries ago, from the depth of the human heart.

Man warmed the grain with his hands, spread it on the plowed land, watered it with his sweat, raised it, harvested it and baked the bread so that his children, his wife and all people could be sated and healthy. Is such bread not sacred?

Salt is sacred too. The tears of pain and happiness are salty. Salt quenches the thirst. People who travel in the desert drink salty water, and so do soldiers in their long marches. Salt is an eternal medicine. Wherever there is no salt everything becomes wasted. However, wherever there is too much salt everything dies. After destroying Carthage, the ancient Romans poured salt on the ruins. There should be as much salt as is needed, neither more nor less. Even the human blood contains salt.

The delegation of Soviet Lithuanian cultural workers presented to the Ul'yanovsk people a portrait of Lenin made by our experts from pieces of amber. Like the Russian bread and salt, the Lithuanian amber is a symbol of love, warmth and friendship.

A resident of the small town of Sengiley, which our delegation visited, presented me with a small container and said:

"This is real lime honey. The container is also made of limewood. Take this as a souvenir from the Volga. Do you know how much honey comes from a single hectare of lime groves? Almost a full ton!"

This good man enthusiastically argued that there is no more beautiful and more useful tree on earth than the lime tree. Its honey is medicinal. In old Russia spoons, plates and other household objects were made of lime tree wood, and bast shoes were made of strips of limewood. Colds were cured with lime tea in which a spoonful of lime tree honey was added!

I would have liked to talk to my collocutor much more, but we had to part. People are like rivers--they are not allowed to stand still.

Russian power will grow, and that will be Siberia. M. V. Lomonosov

A handful of cossacks and a few hundred homeless muzhiks covered oceans of ice and snow and wherever the tired handfuls of them settled in the frozen steppes forgotten by nature life developed, fields and herds appeared, from Perm to the Pacific....

A. I. Hertzen.

A dammed river is a conquered river. Those who are defeated always lose something and the winners gain something. When we built the Neman Dam we created the Kaunas Sea. The same thing happened with the Yenisey. From its beginning to Divnogorsk it now forms the Krasnoyarsk Sea.

We sailed toward the builders of Sayano-Shushenskaya GES. The building of the Shushenskoye river port is modern. The impressive Sayany dominate the road leading to Yenisey, as we come closer to the gigantic project. It is only from afar that these mountains look like any other mountains. The Sayany are beautiful in their own way and it is hard to compare them to other mountains.

...The day after the sad news of Vladimir Il'ich's death was received, the population of Shushenskoye passed a resolution on immortalizing his memory. The resolution contains the following item: "To purchase with public funds the home in which V. I. Lenin lived in Shushenskoye and to open in it a model people's club with a reading room and a library..., to open an agricultural technical school as a live monument to Vladimir Il'ich Lenin and to build a hydroelectric power plant."

As time passed, the people's club with its reading room turned into the impressive museum complex "V. I. Lenin's Siberian Exile," visited every year by approximately a quarter of a million tourists.

What about the hydroelectric power plant? It was to be built on the nearby small Shusha River. A design for a dam and power plant was made. The falling water was to turn a turbine generating 20 kilowatts and to power a mill.

There was a great deal of enthusiasm but electric power cannot be produced with enthusiasm alone. A turbine and copper wire were needed, but those were hard times. The power plant on the Shusha was not built. Today the dream of the Shusha people of perpetuating Lenin's memory in the foothills of the Sayan has come true: the building of the biggest hydroelectric plant in the world--the Sayano-Shushenskaya--is nearing completion approximately 100 km from Shushenskoye.

In 1895, the Marxist circles in Petersburg, guided by Lenin, merged within a single social democratic organization--"alliance for the struggle for the liberation of the working class." Soon afterwards Lenin and his fellow workers were arrested. After more than 14 months in jail, the court sentenced Lenin to exile in Siberia. On 18 February 1897 Vladimir Il'ich was

transferred from Petersburg to Moscow, whence on 23 February he was sent into exile. He wrote frequent letters to his mother, sisters and comrades from Shushenskoye. "You are asking me, Manyasha, to describe Shushu-shu village....," Vladimir Il'ich wrote to his sister Mariya in 1897. "...It is a big village. It has several streets which are quite dirty and dusty, which is natural. The village is in the steppe--there are no gardens or any vegetation. The village is surrounded by...manure which is not taken to the fields but thrown right outside the village....The small Shush' River runs through the village..."

That is how Shushenskoye looked then. It is entirely different today. It has become a city. The memorial complex of the "V. I. Lenin Siberian Exile" museum alone covers almost 7 hectares.

A wooden house. A modest room. A table. Books. A lamp with a green shade. Everything here reminds one of Lenin.

When Nadezhda Konstantinovna came to join Vladimir Il'ich, the landlady gave them a small plot. For quite some time the people here had been growing potatoes and vegetables. Nadezhda Konstantinovna planted radishes, lettuce, dill and tomatoes, and flower beds under the windows. Vladimir Il'ich used the hop-plant to build a summer house. Their neighbors were amazed: here they were in exile and growing flowers! In the autumn the village women asked Krupskaya for flower seeds and the following summer there was no yard in the village without flowers. Flowers bloom today too. They are the living autograph left by Nadezhda Konstantinovna and Vladimir Il'ich in Shushenskoye.

When Lenin stepped off the railroad car at the Krasnoyarsk Station in 1897, the city had a population of 26,000 and only two high schools but one drinking establishment per 400 people. Today more than 800,000 people live in Krasnoyarsk; the city has seven higher educational institutions attended by more than 40,000 students.

Had the echo of the October Revolution been able to reach the Yenisey from the banks of the Neva, it would have arrived there only 4 hours later. The news of the shot fired by the Avrova reached Krasnoyarsk by telegraph. On the fourth day after the victory of the socialist revolution in Petrograd, the Soviet system was proclaimed in the city on the Yenisey.

We landed in the port of Shumikha. The leaves of the birch trees were fluttering in the sun. The people were swimming in the Krasnoyarsk Sea. A wonderful little city has grown next to the hydroelectric power plant, not far from Krasnoyarsk. For a while it had no name. A competition was announced and the winner was engineer L. Lyubovskiy, who suggested the name Divnogorsk.

At one point the construction workers of the Krasnoyarsk GES were visited by Yuriy Gagarin. He described to them his trip to outer space and worked a while with a shovel which was then sent to the local museum.

Siberians do not like high-sounding words. They are strong-willed people. They can be proud but not boastful. This is a quality born of their awareness of their own strength.

Many engineers and workers living in Divnogorsk moved up the Yenisey to the new construction project in the Sayany. They carried with them the shovel which Yuriy Gagarin had used and a bottle of water from the Krasnoyarsk Sea. They poured this water into the Yenisey only after they had completed the new dam. This is a tradition among builders of hydroelectric power plants.

A steamship on which the name Sv. Nikolay stands out in large letters is docked forever on the Yenisey embankment. It was on this boat that Lenin sailed from Krasnoyarsk to Minusinsk together with his friends Gleb Krzhizhanovskiy and Vasilii Starkov.

Vladimir Ul'yanov began to sign some of his articles with the pseudonym "Lenin" in the autumn of 1901. According to Krupskaya, this pseudonym was not chosen randomly. Incidentally, Plekhanov, who worked side-by-side with Lenin on ISKRA, sometimes signed his articles "Volgin"--after the other great Russian river and the main character in "Prologue," Chernyshevskiy's novel. Perhaps Vladimir Il'ich took his pseudonym from Lena, the powerful Siberian river. A Russian river became the clandestine party name of one of the creators of the Communist Party of Lithuania--Zigmas Aleks, who gave himself the name Angaretis.

It was in Siberia that Vintsas Mitskyavichyus-Kapsukas firmed his revolutionary bolshevik views. He met with Ya. M. Sverdlov in the Krasnoyarsk jail. Other Lithuanian revolutionaries were also tempered on the banks of the distant Yenisey.

In 1967 Leonid Maksimovich Leonov visited Canada. One evening, he and I were walking along the embankment of the St. Lawrence. The writer was enthusiastically speaking of Siberia and its green treasury. But he was also concerned: Will man be able to make sensible use of the gifts of nature? The author of "Russkiy Les" [The Russian Forest] was asking about the forests in Lithuania. I described the terrible losses suffered by our forests during the first and second world wars and how we are trying to heal these wounds. The conversation then turned to the responsibility of the writer to his age and his readers.

"I am always pleased to receive letters from my readers," Leonid Maksimovich said. "Once I got a letter from Siberia, from Krasnoyarskiy Kray. Its author, Yefim Vladimirov, had looked for the prototypes for the characters in my novel 'Skutarevskiy.' He was suggesting the name of a family and asked whether he was right. His reasons were substantive...."

I recalled this talk on the embankment of the St. Lawrence after I had met Yefim Il'ich Vladimirov, an expert on Siberia. We sailed the Yenisey together.

"Yes, I addressed myself to Leonid Maksimovich," said Vladimirov, and his eyes began to sparkle. "I wrote him a letter. I was interested in identifying the prototype of his literary character. I spent a long time on this problem."



"Was your guess right?"

"What can I tell you? I am certain that I was right," Yefim Il'ich answered, "although Leonov did not admit that the prototype of Skutarevskiy was 100 percent the person I had described. But that is not important."

I visited Vladimirov in Krasnoyarsk. Yefim Il'ich's apartment is a real museum. He has collected most interesting materials on the fellow-workers of Petr Zalomov, who were exiled to Siberia, and whose heroic struggle for social justice and the happiness of the working people gave Maksim Gor'kiy the material for his novel "Mother."

Yefim Il'ich had corresponded with the oldest communists such as Ol'ga Lepeshinskaya, Elena Stasova, Gleb Krzhizhanovskiy and many other famous people. He has preserved their letters. I saw among them the autograph of writer Georgiy Kublitskiy.

In a public library in New York, Kublitskiy stubbornly studied an album with photographs which, in his view, could reveal a great deal of information from those times when the czarist government was exiling revolutionaries to the banks of the Yenisey. He found what he was looking for! Like Leonov, in a conversation with him, Kublitskiy mentioned the name of an amateur regional expert in Krasnoyarsk. It turned out that before flying from Moscow to New York he had received a letter from a fellow citizen from Krasnoyarsk asking him to trace in New York an interesting story.

As you may have guessed, the author was that same tireless regional expert Yefim Vladimirov.

George Kennan, an American journalist, had visited Siberia in 1865-1866. Back in the United States, he published a book on his impressions. Twenty years later he went back to Siberia, where he saw the hard labor prisons and the settlements where the exiles lived and met with those who had been cruelly punished by the czarist authorities for their revolutionary activities. On his Siberian trip Kennan was accompanied by the painter Forst, who later illustrated his new book--"Siberia and Exile." Forst spent little time in Krasnoyarsk, but Kennan's book contains many portraits of local exiles. Had the artist been able to paint them firsthand? Could he have painted them from photographs? If such was the case, where did he get them?

It was Vladimirov's assumption that the Americans had bought them from the owner of the Axelrod photographic shop in Krasnoyarsk. Regina Axelrod and Henrik Keppel had a contract with the chief of the Krasnoyarsk transfer center, according to which they undertook to take the pictures of any forced laborers sent here. According to the same contract, the negatives were to be destroyed after the photographs were made and delivered to the prison warden. However, the shopowners did not observe this stipulation very strictly. They kept their trial prints in a special album which, as time passed, became very valuable.

"Just imagine this album!" Vladimirov told me excitedly. "An entire gallery of revolutionaries which we know nothing about! To this day no single

photograph of Lenin in his period of Siberian exile has been found, although he lived here almost 3 years. However, it is known that in the first days of his arrival in Krasnoyarsk Vladimir Il'ich went to the Axelrod shop. He visited it later as well. A report drawn up by the local policeman has been preserved, according to which Lenin met here with Krzhizhanovskiy, Vaneyev, Starkov and Martov. Was this not the album acquired by the American George Kennan? Kennan died in 1924, bequeathing his files to the New York Public Library. When I found out that someone from Krasnoyarsk, Georgiy Kublitskiy, was going to New York, I naturally turned to him immediately."

Kublitskiy did find the album in the library, with the faded photographs of weaver Petr Aleskeyev, Ippolit Myshkin, Vera Figner and other revolutionaries. Unfortunately, there was no photograph of Lenin, for Kennan had visited Krasnoyarsk several years before Vladimir Il'ich's exile.

Thousands of people have tried to find a photograph of Lenin in the period of his Siberian exile. We now know that in 1900 Henrik Keppel, the Axelrod photographer, destroyed the photographs of many political prisoners before his death. However, the negatives may have been kept. All photographs taken in the Axelrod shop bear the inscription "the negatives are kept." Their location, however, remains unknown.

Siberia is a book many of whose pages are yet to be read. Yefim Vladimirov has dedicated his life to this noble objective.

Some people in the western parts of the country have a stereotyped idea of Siberia. The picture has changed today. Even in the past, Siberia was not terrible. It was only the cruelty of the czarist regime that had turned this area into a symbol of everything bad. Dostoyevskiy's "Notes From the House of the Dead" contains startling descriptions of the lives of the hard laborers. However, the writer acknowledges that Siberia is a blessed land in which one could live very well. Its climate is outstanding.

Siberia is different today. It was transformed by the Soviet people.

The Siberians love books whose characters fight and surmount difficulties. In the Krasnoyarsk city library I spoke with a youngster who was taking out two books: Nikolay Ostrovskiy's "And the Steel Was Tempered" and short stories by Jack London.

"I want to reread these books," he said. In Siberia they acquire an entirely different meaning."

Land of the Urals....Stone is carved here for homes. Frequently it weighs heavily in one's hands from its gold nuggets. S. P. Shchipachev

I brought from the Urals a small book in a gray-green jacket and gave it a place of honor on my shelf. It is an extraordinary book: no one has written it, no one has published it, the pages are not numbered. However, whenever I take it in my hands it is surprisingly heavy. I feel the fresh coolness of its smooth binding and suddenly I clearly see the Urals which welcomed us, writers from different republics, so warmly. I hear the voice of the

people who welcomed warmly the guests of the Urals, I hear the warm words said to us during these unforgettable meetings.

Such booklets made of Ural rocks were souvenirs which the participants in the Days of Soviet Culture took from Sverdlovskaya Oblast.

The Urals! I associate the very sound of the word Urals with joy, support and unanimity as expressed in the Russian "hooray!" Is this the origin of the word Urals? As I imagined it, long ago a group of daring Russian cossacks was moving east. The march was long and difficult. All of a sudden, they saw mountains of incredible beauty and the joyful "hooray!" was heard. That is how this "hooray!" turned into Urals....

This hypothesis, created by my imagination as the train wheels clicked under me, seemed so logical that I began to believe it and experienced the sort of pleasant feeling which appears when you discover something which will benefit not only you but others as well.

However, once again it was soon proved to me that it is easier to create than to defend hypotheses. The word "Urals," it turns out, is Turkic and means island or belt. Still, although my fabrication collapsed like a sand castle, I could still hear the "hooray!" in the word "Urals." It was while shouting this word that the Russian soldiers engaged in hand-to-hand combat. It is the same word we pronounce unwittingly when we conquer a difficult mountain peak or when we praise a good person.

I recall the formidable "hooray!" of the war years when I look at the tank frozen on a pedestal in the Uralmash yard. This was the last tank made by the workers in this huge Urals plant, on the final day of the great battle against fascism. The plant workers kept it for themselves as a priceless remembrance of those most difficult war years, as a witness to the unparalleled labor heroism which has been inscribed in golden letters in the history of the Urals. The tank--a frightening weapon which only yesterday was helping us to strike at the enemy--stands today as a symbol of our victory guarding the peace won with such difficulty. Young workers are issued their internal passports and Komsomol cards at its pedestal. There are always fresh flowers on the tank threads.

We are in the shop making walking excavators. Their bucket can hold 100 cubic meters of dirt. These giants have 100-meter-long iron arms. The weight of such an excavator is no more than...10,500 tons. These excavators cannot leave the shop by themselves, for the ceilings are too low and the plant gates too narrow. If such an excavator would start walking in Uralmash, it would probably be like a mammoth which was frozen in the ice of Siberia a long time ago and then resurrected in the middle of an ordinary room, in which it could neither raise its head nor stretch its legs. That is why the excavator is moved out in parts carried on special flatcars. Several trains are needed to transport one such 20th-century mammoth. The giants created at Uralmash obey the orders of man and do not resemble in the least the monsters depicted in Hollywood movies, which destroy cities and crush in their paws streetcars and locomotives like matchboxes or bring down skyscrapers. In the open-pit mines they extract huge chunks of coal from the ground; in the deserts and

the steppes they dig canals and help to build nuclear electric power plants. These giants are working slowly but confidently abroad as well.

The word "dynasty" is associated in our minds with kings, czars, emperors and pharaohs. In the Urals, this word has long acquired a different meaning. Uralmash laid the beginning of the dynasty of powerful plants which, like a pyramid, narrows as it reaches the top. Its top is Uralmash--one of the first offspring of socialist industry. A metal plaque on its gate reads: "Begun in 1928 and completed in July 1933." Uralmash, which rapidly expanded and strengthened, led to the appearance of other industrial giants. One could hardly find in our country a heavy industry enterprise which was not developed without its help. It is proud of its children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren but does not even think of retirement. Its heart is beating rhythmically and its hands are becoming increasingly stronger. No metal has been smelted yet which this Ural giant has been unable to bend; there is no power in nature which Uralmash could not conquer.

As in many other industrial parts of the country, in the Urals the sons frequently inherit the professions of the fathers. Several generations of workers working at the same plant or mine are also a dynasty. They are linked not only by family ties but by a common profession and sometimes work in the same sector.

I saw a walking excavator in Siberia, on the Yenisey, on the chassis of which was written "Made at Uralmash." Under it a little metal plaque read: "This excavator was made by the Maslinskykh dynasty."

"The Maslinskykh dynasty has an excellent reputation," I was told. "The excavators it makes are impeccable."

The proletarian revolution and the socialist way of life have given the word "dynasty" a new meaning.

There are many monuments in the Urals. Each one of them has its own meaning, symbolism and history. In Sverdlovsk, Pervoural'sk and other cities we laid wreaths at the feet of monuments to Ural people who died during the Patriotic War. I saw how the hands of the women who had brought the flowers shook and the emotional pain which changed the faces of the men, with tears running down weatherbeaten cheeks. Various types of monuments can be made from the same stone and their effects on the minds and hearts can vary.

A stone pillar has been erected at the spot where Yerofey Markov found gold. The people look at this monument to the pioneer closely. However, no one here bows his head or brings flowers. No Komsomol cards are issued here nor is the monument visited by newlyweds. However, as I stood in front of this monument I felt like doffing my hat, not in honor of the bit of gold whose yellowish gleam was detected by Yerofey Markov but to the human hands which took the ore from the ground, the hands which extracted from the ground mountains of metals--gold, platinum, chromium, copper, zinc and aluminum--the hands which built dams across the Ural rivers, which plowed the fields, which laid railroads and which built factories, plants and cities.

We praise the golden hands of the Ural people, but not because they collect gold nuggets, rather because they are able to accomplish anything conceived by the daring human mind.

In 1900 a striking exhibit at the Paris World Fair was the Urals pavilion. It was cast from iron and consisted of 5,000 assembled parts. It had been manufactured by metallurgical workers in Kasli. The pavilion was shipped to Paris on pack horses. This unique project won two prizes! The only item which received greater coverage in the Paris press was the Eiffel Tower. This was an unusually beautiful exhibit, almost like a jewel, created by the Ural masters of metallurgy. All the objects in the pavilion were also cast of iron. A delicate vase drew particular attention. The French president questioned its strength, at which point the Russian foreman hurled it to the ground with all his might. To everyone's amazement the vase remained intact.

"Such are the things we now make in Russia!" said the Kasli metallurgical worker.

The pavilion was returned to Kasli after the exhibit closed down, again on horseback. For many years this unique installation remained in the open, under the rain, the winds and the snow. Under the Soviet system efforts were made to rebuild it. It turned out, however, that some parts had disappeared. They were recast by the best masters, using modern equipment. Once again the pavilion became an exhibit admired by thousands of visitors. However, looking at this creation of the golden hands of the Ural metallurgical workers, I found it difficult to separate the parts cast at the end of the 19th century and those cast recently. No equipment can replace highly skilled masters who create unique works.

The old Yekaterinburg was famous the world over for its jewelers and polishers of precious stones. In the Louvre I saw a mosaic map of France made by Ural experts from semiprecious stones. This work by the Ural masters also won the highest award at the world exhibit in 1900. The experience of the old masters was passed on to their children and grandchildren. Today goods bearing the inscription "Russian gems" enjoy a deserved reputation on the world's markets.

...This happened in Shyaulay in the summer of 1944. Soviet tanks drove the enemy out of my native city with a powerful and unexpected strike. The Wehrmacht command decided that Shyaulay had to be recaptured at all cost, being a most important communications center, and several days later mounted a counterattack with its best tank division.

Soldiers, trucks and tanks were moving west, along the streets of the wrecked and burning city. The inscription written in chalk on the gray-green armor of one of the tanks read: "Ural steel is stronger!" At that time, the soldiers, their faces black from smoke, gunpowder and dust, did not go in for long statements.

In the face of the firmness of the Soviet soldier, the enemy was defeated and his "tigers" and "panthers" collapsed against the tanks on which was written "Ural steel is stronger!"

I mentioned this event from the Great Patriotic War at a literary evening for the workers at the Revda Metallurgical Plant; I thanked the steelmakers for their strong steel and the warmth with which they had welcomed us. When the evening ended, I was approached by a short, elderly worker who shook my hand and said:

"Actually, I am also from Shyaul'yay."

"How so?"

"I took part in the tank battle at Shyaul'yay...." We embraced like brothers although we had just met....

Petr Uralov, the name of my new Ural friend, asked about my native city and how it looked now. Was the theater, which he saw burning and where he was wounded, working? He was interested in everything.

"If you come to Vil'nyus," I said, "we shall visit Shyaul'yay."

Everything beautiful on earth comes from the sun and everything good comes from man. M. M. Prishvin

Flying from Sakhalin to Kunashir Island, we unexpectedly landed at Burevestnik Airport on Iturup Island. The climate on the Kuril Islands is capricious and frequently forces substantial changes in flight schedules. The saying "do not praise the day until the evening" inadequately reflects the variability of the weather here. The shores of the small Iturup Island facing the Pacific may be having a heavy downpour while the shore facing the Sea of Okhotsk is withering away under a hot sunshine, while a hurricane is raging at the foothills of the Ivan Groznyy volcano! One hour later the situation may have changed radically. Frequently the breath of the Pacific Ocean will cover the island with a blanket of gray fog. Any bright, sunny hour on the Kuril Islands should be praised immediately, without waiting for the evening, when it may be too late.

At the Burevestnik Airport the wind was blowing away the hats or the hair on one's head. One way or another, we were all forced to hold our heads with both hands!

It would be hard to find a more apt name for this airport located in the immediate vicinity of the Ivan Groznyy volcano and the Pacific Ocean. The stormy petrel, about which Gor'kiy wrote, has spread its wide wings over the Kuril Islands, and it is on these wings that the airplanes land and take off.

Not far from the airport is a fishing village bearing the same name. A few hundred meters to the east, the ocean crashes against the steep rocky shore.

We admired the severe view of the Ivan Groznyy volcano.

"Of late it has been somewhat restless," joked the airport official.

"When is it calm?"

"When it sleeps...."

However, the volcano sleeps rarely.

A poster which reads "The Struggle for Saving Seconds Is a Struggle for the Well-Being of the Homeland" hangs on the small airport building. Here the people are used to being self-possessed and efficient, both at the airport and at the fishing village: if you lose the moment the weather may worsen and the unexpected may happen.

The Pacific Ocean is merciless and has a bad temper.

In order to calm our fear, the official started telling us how he tried to catch a small fox on the airfield. He was unable to finish the story: it was announced that Mendeleyev Airport on Kunashir had reopened, and we hastened to board the plane. In the Kuril Islands the people are not hasty, but neither do they waste time.

The Kuril archipelago stretches over 1,200 km from Kamchatka to the Japanese island of Hokkaido. It consists of more than 30 medium-sized islands and many smaller ones which barely show up in the water and some of which are under water at high tide. If all of these islands were to be put together their surface would total 15,600 square km of land sprinkled with mountains.

Nearby, the waves were hitting the black rocks. The moist salty wind pierced our clothing, reaching my very heart, which was fluttering not from the cold but from excitement, for I was standing at the end of the world....

Unwittingly, we kept looking to the east, where the lead-gray restless surface of the water touched an equally gray sky. It seemed as though the fading line of the horizon was being carried by the waves to the very shore and if one tried to touch it it would come to life and sway with the ocean. This was a visual trick, for no one can reach the horizon, which retreats at the same speed at which it is approached. Looking to the east, one saw nothing, neither a ship nor a sail nor any point of reference. What was beyond the horizon? The American continent. We were standing at the easternmost Shikotan Cape, reaching far into the ocean. It is the biggest island of the small Kuril ridge, a promontory described on all world maps as "The End of the World."

I had the opportunity to look at this ocean from its western side as well, from the American shore. I saw how, tired after the working day, the red color of the sun was reflected in its waters. Now I was looking at the sharp solar disc coming out of that same ocean. This was the end of the world indeed.

I began my trip to the Far East, to the shores of the Pacific, in Palanga, from the shore of my native Baltic Sea. I reached the Far East by car and train. I flew on jet airliners and small, nimble airplanes. Farther and farther east I went toward the rising sun. Thousands of kilometers separated the Palanga pier and the lighthouse at the end of the world. Now, facing the rocky shore of the cape, a few steps to the east would make me fall from a 40-meter-high rock into the arms of the savage waves which would not let

go of me. However, were I to take a boat and continue my trip to the east, I would reach...the American Far West! Is that not the true fable of the end of the world?

Here I am, standing at the end of the world. At the very cape. The gusty wind blowing from the Pacific carries splashes of water taken from the salty, foamy crests and tears from the rocks the yellowish grass which, twisting, flies west. Naturally, it will not reach Vil'nyus, which is too far away. How can this Shikotan grass fly across the Sea of Okhotsk, the endless Siberia, the steppes of the Urals and the endless fields and forests of European Russia?...

Somewhere very far to the west, beyond the Urals, the Ob' and the Volga, are the great Moscow and my Vil'nyus. To those who live in Vil'nyus, Moscow looks far away. Now, as I stand on this rocky point, feeling the element of the Pacific Ocean with my entire being, it seems to me that these two cities stand side by side. All I would have to do in Vil'nyus is climb to the top of Mount Gedimina and see the green roofs of the Kremlin and the colored domes of St Basil's Cathedral.

I do not know who gave this flat, rocky cape on Shikotan Island the name End of the World. However, this name has remained, and no one today thinks of replacing it with something which may reflect the position of this cape on the globe more accurately.

Every autumn little red flowers spring up on the rocky chest of the end of the world. Even the typhoons are unable to uproot them. The elements have polished the rocky wall but are helpless in the face of the tender flowers which love the rocks more than life and are as unbreakable as the lighthouse firmly embedded in the rock.

The Shpanbergskiy Lighthouse is an intrinsic part of the end of the world. The waves do not dare to splash its rocky feet. Like other lighthouses scattered throughout the earth along the shores of the Pacific, it has not only its own name but its own rhythm. Every 5 minutes a transmitter is switched on automatically, and signals which help ships in the ocean to determine their position fly out.

I approach the lighthouse and, standing at its base, see the rising sun. It comes out of the salty depths of the Pacific Ocean, glistening and bright, washed by its waves. It is 8 am. Seven time zones separate the amber shores of the Baltic from the end of the world. In my homeland, as in Moscow, it is midnight, the new day is only beginning.

The wind from the Pacific Ocean is blowing in a westerly direction. Does it want to catch up with the sun? Together with the sun and the wind my thoughts are flying to my native Vil'nyus, to the green banks of the Neris.

My Lithuania is small, like a bit of pure amber. That is how our outstanding poetess Salomeya Neris described it. However, Lithuania is also infinitely great, for it shares the life of the Russian and the other fraternal peoples



of our huge homeland. We share our joys and the fruits of our toil, our bread and our songs. Today Lithuanians are plowing the virgin lands and building their nuclear power plant. I recall a Lithuanian tractor driver in Kazakhstan, proudly saying:

"Every morning I mount my iron horse and I feel like reaching the sun...."

My compatriots have frequently saddled the iron horse and built nuclear power plants.

The road to progress is not smooth or straight. I recall when the Russian brothers sent to Soviet Lithuania the first combines on railroad flatcars. These combines were to help our kolkhoz members to harvest the first collectively grown crop and ease their difficult work. The kulaks spread the rumor that the combines were killing the life of the seed, which would yield no crop the following year. Some people believed them. They mowed the grain with their grandfathers' scythes and then took the rye to the combine, which was thus converted into an ordinary thresher....

I recall yet another event from that time. The first tractor came to the kolkhoz. The peasants gathered around it to look at this iron "Soviet horse," and to discuss where to keep it, as it could not be put in a stall. An old woman took some hay to the field.

"Why this hay?" she was asked.

"For the iron horse," she answered seriously.

Man measures time in terms of hours and years while mankind measures it in terms of centuries and epochs.

...Standing at the end of the world, at first one neither wants to nor can say a word. The greatness of the sight is crushing.

I was carrying a transistor radio which I turned on. The Kremlin bells sounded in rhythm with the ocean. I then heard our national anthem. These solemn minutes, while the anthem is heard throughout the planet, express an entire epoch in our Soviet life.

I turned the sound to its peak volume and our anthem rang loudly in space, with the powerful accompaniment of the ocean. End of the world....Here the familiar words acquire a new exciting meaning: "Unbreakable union of free republics uniting forever the great Rus'. Long live the united and powerful Soviet Union created by the will of the peoples!"

Yes, this is the easternmost shore of my country, as the Baltic is its western shore, both to me and to all Soviet people.

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## SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE IN PRAGUE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 82 pp 37-39

[Text] A scientific conference on the theoretical and methodological problems of developed socialism, sponsored by the CPCZ Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the CC CPCZ theoretical and political journal NOVA MYSL, was held in the Czechoslovak capital on 27-28 January.

The conference was attended by Czechoslovak party and scientific workers, state officials, journalists and members of the public. The guests included representatives of KOMMUNIST, the CC CPSU theoretical and political journal.

In his speech at the opening of the conference, Zdenek Snitil, director of the CC CPCZ Institute of Marxism-Leninism, said:

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia ascribes great importance to the theoretical elaboration of problems of developed socialism. This was also confirmed at the 16th CPCZ Congress. Comrade Gustav Husak, CC CPCZ general secretary, pointed out in the CC CPCZ accountability report that the most important tasks in the social sciences during the next 5 years must include the study of topical problems of the building of a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia.

The development of real socialism has advanced so much that we can already sum-up the experience acquired in its construction on an international scale, define its stages and their content, and study its current condition, results, problems and tasks. We can undertake the formulation of responsible forecasts of its further development and to assess the experience gained in the struggle against the enemies of socialism. The solution of all the problems discussed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, at the 26th CPSU Congress is an international task.

Let us recall in this connection V. I. Lenin's familiar words. In his time, Lenin refused to develop in specific terms the problem of the stages in the building of a communist society, believing this to be premature. "Our theory is not a dogma," Lenin said, "but a manual for action. "We do not claim that Marx and the Marxists know the way to socialism in its specifics. This would be stupid. We know the direction of this path and the class forces leading to it. Its specific and practical features will be determined only through

the experience of millions of people, once they undertake to carry out this project" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 34, p 116).

Such experience is available today. Its determining feature is the fact that socialism, which has existed in the world for almost 65 years, has radically altered the lives of one third of mankind and resolved to the benefit of the working people many vital problems, which could not be resolved for centuries. The members of the world socialist comity, headed by the Soviet Union, are today the decisive and leading force of the global revolutionary process, its vanguard, bulwark, and hope for the future.

This fact imposes on the communist and workers parties of the socialist countries strict requirements and a tremendous responsibility for its further development and broadening its influence on the other components of the global revolutionary process and the national liberation, democratic and progressive forces on earth. "The main positive factor in contemporary global developments is the strengthened positions of socialism and the growth of its attractiveness," Comrade G. Husak noted at the 16th CPCZ Congress.

The more striking the successes of real socialism become, the narrower becomes the area of imperialist domination in the world and the fiercer become the antisocialist and anti-Soviet sallies mounted by the enemies of socialism. The representatives of global imperialism, U. S. imperialism in particular, are trying to lead the world back to cold-war times, to neutralize the attractiveness of the socialism example and to worsen the external, economic above all, conditions governing the building of socialism, judging by the views expressed by President Reagan and other members of his administration. The imperialists and their accomplices are systematically mounting campaigns against the socialist countries. They are defaming real socialism, coordinating the activities of all antisocialist forces, egging on reformist, revisionist and other currents in the labor movement and energizing the activities of various so-called "dissident" groups in order to create the impression that some kind of widespread opposition has developed in the socialist countries. The purpose of all such efforts is to convince the world public that the failure of real socialism is inevitable.

Unfortunately, we are witnessing the fact that the leadership of the Italian Communist Party is getting closer to such positions today. The essence of the views expressed in the latest ICP documents is the desire to prove the existence of some kind of "crisis in the Soviet system," to defame the victorious path covered by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and to cross out the achievements and influence of real socialism. The logical end of these attacks on real socialism is the fact that in this connection the representatives of the ICP attack Marxism-Leninism as well, proclaiming it obsolete. They have proclaimed the irrelevance of the revolutionary theory thanks to which, as was emphasized in an article in the Soviet newspaper PRAVDA, socialism was built in some 15 countries, and thanks to which the Italian communists have had a successfully functioning party for more than half a century.

Any attempt to change the domestic and foreign policy course of the socialist countries, to make them reject Marxism-Leninism in theory and practice and

lead them along the wrong path of development suitable to the global counterrevolution is hopeless. The countries of real socialism are the deciding subjects of contemporary history and determine the basic trends in global developments. Revolutionary progress is the motive force of history, which no one can change any more. Marxism-Leninism is conquering ever new positions in the contemporary world, and its influence is growing, as reality is extensively proving. Let us add that current reality convincingly proves the creative and ideological wealth of Marxist-Leninist theory, which has been inspiring the struggle of the peoples for socialism and democracy for 150 years. Contemporary reality proves that the creative wealth of Marxist-Leninist theory, which serves the cause of progress and the revolutionary and transforming activities of the people, is inexhaustible and that in the future as well this is the only theory which can offer a reliable base for the strengthening and development of socialism.

The members of the socialist comity are currently engaged in resolving many difficult economic, political and ideological problems dictated by the conversion of the economy to intensive development, the implementation of major social programs and the shaping of a communist consciousness. The very nature of such tasks makes them difficult and complex. Furthermore, they must be implemented under very difficult external circumstances. We are referring to the aggravation of the international situation caused by Western, U. S. above all, reactionary circles and the steadily worsening economic conditions. The difficult situation in Poland is a matter of great concern to the socialist countries. In that country, surmounting the consequences of counterrevolutionary attacks will require further tremendous efforts on the part of the patriotic forces within the nation, forces which will be able to rely on the solidarity and aid of their socialist friends and allies.

The socialist countries are in creative search and development of various alternative solutions to difficult social problems on the basis of the directives of the 26th CPSU and 16th CPCZ Congresses and the congresses of the other fraternal parties, which were held in the past 2 years. Understandably, the formulation of approaches to the solution of topical and largely new problems involves searching, experimentation and sometimes difficulties.

However, a fact that remains entirely valid today, as confirmed by practical experience, is that the extent of the successes achieved in the building and development of socialism is determined above all by loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism, the profound mastery of and ability to implement them responsibly and creatively. Time has proved the scientific depth, viability and international importance of the Leninist plan for the building of socialism. That is precisely why, again and again, as we develop steadily, we turn to the ideas of scientific socialism in order to compare them with practical accomplishments and the growing requirements of each new stage in the building of socialism and communism, so that we may assess and sum-up the practical experience gained in the course of such construction. The difficulty presented by such activities is due also to the need for reaching a thorough understanding of the reasons, failures or temporary and partial defeats, the need to draw effective lessons from the practical activities of our party and the

practical experience of the working class, cooperated peasantry and intelligentsia and the struggle waged against the enemies of the revolution and socialism. "Clearly, lessons must be drawn from the the difficulties experienced in the course of the development of the socialist countries," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CVPSU Congress. We turn to them above all in order to gain a clearer and more accurate idea of the ways, means and methods of building a new society and to be able to share with full responsibility our experience with the revolutionary detachments who will face the building and development of socialism in the future.

The practical experience and theoretical knowledge already gained by the socialist countries are adequately rich, extensive and profound. We have a well from which to draw, something to assess, and something to turn to and to develop further. "After the 25th CPSU Congress, a number of important summations and conclusions were added to the party's theoretical arsenal," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress. "Let us name among accomplishments in the field of theory, above all the elaboration of the concept of developed socialism. On the basis of this concept, the party refined and specified the means and terms for the implementation of our programmatic objectives and formulated the strategy and practice for a long historical period in the future." The Soviet scientists deserve credit for the extensive work they have done in this area. The experience of the CPSU and the Soviet people they summed-up is an irreplaceable source for our research. It provides our scientists with theoretical and methodological guidance and teaches them how to approach the study and summation of new social phenomena.

The experience acquired in building socialism in our country is an objective and natural scientific process the individual stages of the development of which must be neither skipped nor bypassed or speeded-up subjectivistically. However, this experience has also proved that the cause of socialism is harmed by helpless and aimless marking of time and delayed resolution of ripe problems. All of this, as we have been able to see in the period of rising intraparty and social crises during the second half of the 1960s, leads to the energizing of questionable advisers, who are offering false prescriptions and scope for the activities of the enemies of socialism. In this case as well, our own Czechoslovak experience proved the permanent importance of Marxism-Leninism and Soviet experience. Practical experience has convinced us that success can be achieved through the creative application of Leninism, the fulfillment by the communist party of its vanguard role as a leading political force and the systematic utilization of all general laws and criteria governing the building and development of socialism.

Economics is a decisive sector in our work today and so is the related use of Leninist approach to the implementation of the economic policy formulated at the 16th party congress. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's statement to the effect that "the decisive front in the competition against capitalism goes through economics and economic policy" entirely applies to us as well. The 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that the course of economic intensification and effectiveness and combining the advantages of socialism with the latest achievements in science and technology are as important as socialist

industrialization and collectivization. The same approach must be adopted in the implementation of the long-term strategic line formulated by our party for upgrading production effectiveness, and strict conservation, a line which was concretized in the first half of the 1980s by the 16th CPCZ Congress and refined at the fourth and fifth CC CPCZ plenums.

We also realize that the building of a developed socialist society presumes the adoption of a comprehensive and systematic approach to reality and the proportional development of all areas and sectors. The truth is that the development of each one of these sectors is a prerequisite for the successful development of socialist society as a whole.

Many previously unknown problems are arising today, for which there are no prescribed solutions. The more developed and mature our society becomes, the more previously unknown phenomena are detected. It is entirely natural for us in this case to act according to the laws of dialectics, checking the new phenomena against existing experience. Those who try at all cost to squeeze the new phenomena within the old framework cannot contribute to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory. However, we neither have the right nor the desire to turn into nihilists, who indiscriminately reject everything familiar and already tried. Here again, Lenin is our teacher in the adoption of a theoretical and methodological approach to the new phenomena of reality.

To a certain extent directing the study of the problems and building developed socialism is an objective requirement determined by the very nature of the socialist society and its structure. It is precisely this circumstance that determined the topics of our conference as follows: first, the international conditions governing the building of developed socialism and its conversion to communism; second, the development of the socialist economy; third, the building of developed socialism and the development of the social sphere and the class and social structure; fourth, problems of improving the political system; and fifth, problems related to the spiritual life of the socialist society, with emphasis on the shaping of the new man and his way of life. This range of problems is entirely consistent with the tasks which the 16th CPCZ Congress assigned to the social sciences. Unquestionably, Z. Snitil asserted, our conference will prove that the Czechoslovak social scientists are entirely willing to carry out the assignments of the congress, which emphasized the need for creative discussions and the establishment of an atmosphere of criticism, bold search and above all a principled party-minded approach.

Following are the reports (somewhat abridged) and the final speech delivered at the conference.

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## CPCZ'S GENERAL LINE AND THEORETICAL PROBLEMS OF BUILDING DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 82 pp 40-53

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Ilja Sedivy, head of department, at the CC CPCZ Institute of Marxism-Leninism]

[Text] The recent congresses of the fraternal communist parties in the socialist countries, the 26th CPSU Congress in particular, and our 16th communist party congress, play an outstanding role not only in the activities and the life of the respective parties and countries but the life of the entire world socialist comity by enhancing the influence of real socialism on global developments. We say this with a feeling of full responsibility even though not much time has passed since these congresses. We can claim this on the basis of the close study of the materials of these party forums and above all the scientific depth, political accuracy and mobilizing force of their resolutions, which make available to us the practice of the individual countries and entire course of global developments.

The further elaboration of the concept of developed socialism and the strategic line followed in its construction and further advancement play an important role in the contribution made by the congresses to the development of the theory and practice of building socialism and communism and the revolutionary reorganization of the world. This concept is the result of the collective efforts of the fraternal communist and workers parties in the socialist countries among which the CPSU plays the leading role in its formulation and substantiation.

The concept of the building and advancement of mature socialism and the line which proceeds from it were not only simply formulated, concretized and developed at the 26th CPSU and 16th CPCZ Congresses and the congresses of the other fraternal parties in accordance with changed circumstances, but were raised to a qualitatively new theoretical and political level. They go far beyond the framework of the current five-year plan. They resolve the basic problems of the progress achieved by the fraternal countries toward developed socialism and communism on a long-range basis.

The reaching of a qualitatively higher theoretical and political level in the formulation of the general line for building a mature socialist society in Czechoslovakia by the 16th congress of our communist party is closely related

to the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. Comrade Gustav Husak, CC CPCZ general secretary and Czechoslovak president, emphasized at the congress that "With its accomplishments the Soviet Union is opening for mankind the road to freedom and social progress. That is why the activities of the Soviet communists are drawing the exceptionally close attention of the entire world. The recent 26th CPSU Congress drew the attention of both friends and enemies. It proved the strength and viability of real socialism and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the unity of Soviet society rallied around the Leninist CPSU and its resolve to pursue inflexibly the building of communism, and its consistent struggle for peace. The entire speech delivered by Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the congress is imbued with good sense and a feeling of high responsibility for the fate of mankind.

"....The 26th congress proved that Lenin's behests are in reliable hands and that the Soviet people are loyal to the banner of Leninism. All progressive people on earth view the results of the congress as an aid and support in their struggle.

"The 26th CPSU Congress has enriched our knowledge. It has given us confidence and has inspired us to pursue the building of a developed socialist society. We shall continue to advance toward our common goal, closely united with the Soviet communists."

Our 16th communist party congress intensified the line of continuing to build a developed socialist society, mainly by studying the international and domestic circumstances surrounding this process and assessing the results which the Czechoslovak working class and all working people, led by their vanguard, achieved in building socialism and their contribution to strengthening the entire socialist comity and the world revolutionary process in the struggle for safeguarding peace the world over.

In his summation, Comrade G. Husak noted that "We can state with full confidence that the party and the people worked selflessly and that the long-range line of building a developed socialist society in our country, adopted at the 14th and developed at the 15th congress, has proved to be accurate and realistic. The working people see it as a program consistent with their vital interests and which guarantees their faith in the future and the security and sovereignty of our country in the family of the socialist comity.

"The general line in building a developed socialist society will be retained."

This important conclusion is of essential significance both in terms of the successful implementation of the political line and in theoretical work.

Above all, the congress summed up the results of accomplishments during the 1970s and the last five-year plan in particular. From the socioeconomic viewpoint, which we consider essential for understandable reasons, the results are characterized above all by the growth of the national income, which rose by 20 percent between 1975 and 1980. Whereas in 1975 a one percent increase in the national income was the equivalent of 3.8 billion



koruni, it equalled 4.5 billion in 1980. This made it possible to increase personal consumption by 8.4 percent, social consumption funds by 25.8 percent and the accumulations fund by 7.2 percent. Considerable successes were achieved in improving the living standard of the people and developing the national economy and the entire society. However, the ratio between the generated and consumed national income worsened as a result of insufficiently high production efficiency and worsened foreign economic circumstances.

Unquestionably, the results of the Sixth Five-Year Plan can be rated as generally successful bearing in mind the nature of the difficulties which appeared, the worsening of international and domestic development conditions and the available possibilities of increasing production effectiveness and other types of social activities. Although we were unable to fulfill all planned assignments entirely, the results prove that we made important progress toward a developed socialist society. This lays a solid base for further progress in implementing assignments, as we pursue the course indicated at the 16th party congress under difficult and increasingly complex conditions.

The efficiency of our work will determine the implementation of the general line of building a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia. This line is consistent with the general Marxist-Leninist theoretical concept formulated at the 14th CPCZ Congress and subsequently developed at the 15th and 16th congresses. The accuracy of this line has been confirmed by practical experience, as was noted at the last Czechoslovak communist congress. On the basis of personal experience, the working class and all working people have realized that the pursuit of this line ensures reliable progress toward full and developed socialism. It provides the prerequisites for bringing the communist future closer. To be guided by this line means to consider the building of a mature socialist society as the responsible revolutionary project of the working class and all working people and a structural part of the profound social changes taking place in the world. It means waging a selfless struggle under communist party leadership for strengthening and developing the socialist system, the social production forces and socialist social relations, production relations above all, combining the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, upgrading production effectiveness and quality of all work on the basis of all-round intensification, raising the living standard of the people, perfecting socialist democracy and ensuring the comprehensive development of the individual. This line leads us toward intensifying our friendship, cooperation and integration with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and fulfilling by Czechoslovakia its international duty in the struggle for strengthening the unity within and developing the world socialist comity, strengthening its collective defense, broadening the world revolutionary process and preserving and strengthening peace on earth.

A proper consideration of international and domestic conditions is of prime importance in implementing the general party line in building a developed socialist society and ensuring the further progress of Czechoslovakia. This is a basic problem, the correct Marxist-leninist and truly revolutionary solution of which will determine the further progress not only of our society

but the entire comity, as well as the influence which real socialism can exert on contemporary global developments.

The major changes which took place in the international and internal circumstances of building socialism and communism during the second half of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s were thoroughly analyzed at the 26th CPSU and 16th CPCZ congresses and the congresses of the other fraternal communist and workers parties in the socialist countries. Their resolutions are well known to us all. It is also entirely clear that they constitute a major step in both theory and political practice, for they provide us with an accurate assessment of the contemporary international situation, the internal conditions governing the development of the individual countries and the clear line to be followed in our future activities.

On the basis of the theoretical postulates, practical realities and mainly social practice, we must acknowledge that the increased power, activeness and prestige of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity are, in the words of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, the decisive factor which is having the greatest possible influence on the accelerated transition of mankind to socialism and communism and the creation of conditions for such transition. In turn, Comrade Gustav Husak emphasized at the 16th CPCZ Congress that "Strengthening the positions of socialism and the growth of its attractiveness are the main positive factors of contemporary global developments."

This above all must be the starting point for all of our theoretical, ideological, political and mainly practical conclusions.

All of us well know that in propaganda and other sectors of political and ideological work the increased aggressiveness of imperialism, the worsening of international political and economic relations, price increases in world markets, the increased complexity and aggravation of so-called global problems, ideological work, etc., are frequently discussed. All of them are classified as the factors mostly responsible for the current international situation and which affect most substantially the further development of socialism and its quality and dynamics. In no case do we belittle, nor could we do so, the importance of these factors. On the contrary, we believe that they must be analyzed and studied far more thoroughly than in the past and that we must always bear this in mind in the course of our theoretical, political and practical work.

These are objective factors which largely determine the conditions governing the development of socialism. However, their effect is not fatal. They may be considered fatal only if taken separately. However, we must view above all the revolutionary-transforming role of socialism, its strength and real influence as the decisive and determining influence on the course of global processes, both in historical perspective and the viewpoint of the present.

If we, as Marxists, want the working class to be able to fulfill its historical mission to the end, and if we want to lead it in the revolutionary transformation of the world we must proceed from the fact that socialism is

the determining factor in global development, as is claimed by our science on the basis of theoretical studies, practical experience and the most important party documents. This claim is no propaganda whatsoever but a basic conclusion which must guide us. Otherwise we would be unable to resolve our domestic problems or contribute to the development of the socialist comity.

The complex and most difficult and adverse circumstances which began to develop sometime in the mid-1970s and which, in the final account, substantially affected our contemporary development, encourage socialism to make even fuller and more effective use of its specific laws, advantages, motive forces, opportunities and strength for the sake of its own vital interests. Naturally, the worsened circumstances are affecting the internal motive forces of socialism. In the final account, they become an additional factor which calls for upgrading the effectiveness of the entire development of the new social system and socialist and subsequent communist civilization through the comprehensive intensification of this process.

Before the 16th CPCZ Congress was held, in addressing a regional party conference in Kladno, Comrade Gustav Husak criticized views according to which the sources of the problems and difficulties which arise in economic and general social development should be sought mainly and primarily in foreign circumstances. In formulating the party's general line, the 16th CPCZ congress proceeded on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the dialectical interaction between external and internal conditions and the objective and subjective factors in building a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia.

In formulating the general line of building a developed socialist society, particularly in terms of resolving socioeconomic problems, the 16th party congress proceeded above all from the fact that given the new and inordinately difficult and complex circumstances and faced with the major and responsible tasks of ensuring further progress in building developed socialism and in the international arena all our efforts must be focused on ensuring the further development of the individual, improving living and working conditions and upgrading the people's activeness. This is a characteristic feature in building developed socialism and ensuring the pursuit of a purposeful programmatic approach to the comprehensive solution of problems related to our further socialist development.

All social activities, industrial above all, must be subordinated to this objective. Comrade Gustav Husak clearly said at the congress that "We are not planning for the sake of having a plan or organizing production for its own sake. Everything we do and all our efforts are related to the development of socialism, the prosperity of our homeland and the good of the working people. The good of man is and will remain the highest purpose of our aspirations." These words reveal precisely the correlation between objectives and means. This is particularly important today.

It is a question of ensuring the truly Marxist-Leninist interpretation of problems similar to those formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the October 1980 CC CPSU Plenum at which he discussed the drafting of the "Basic

Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990:" "I would like the discussion on these problems to begin not by speaking about metals, transportation or even fuel and energy, despite their tremendous importance, but about problems the solution of which affects most directly the living conditions of the Soviet people. I believe that starting with concern for the good of the people is the most party-oriented approach. From the strictly economic viewpoint as well, it is better to proceed with the factors which lead to the final objective."

The realistic nature of the course aimed at the good of man is determined by the fact that the 16th congress of our communist party not only simply indicated how to advance toward this goal, limiting itself to a description of the basic directions of our further development, but formulated an efficient, scientifically substantiated and politically mobilizing strategic line. The intensification of economic and, on this basis, all social development is the core of the party's policy today. The need for intensification is being felt not simply more urgently than ever before but above all in an entirely new fashion. High end national economic results must be achieved and, on this basis, high social production efficiency under circumstances in which traditional fuel, energy, raw and other material and manpower resources are essentially not increasing but are even diminishing. At our party's Central Committee fifth plenum, which was held on 9 December 1981, Comrade Gustav Husak particularly emphasized the fact that the implementation of the tasks formulated at the 16th congress will require intensive ideological, political-educational and organizational work. The intensification of economic and social development is objectively determined. It is of primary importance to the entire society. This also applies to the intensification of our entire social life.

The 26th CPSU Congress emphasized the historical significance of taking the intensive road to economic and social development. Under Czechoslovak conditions, this transition will involve essential and truly revolutionary changes in the nature of our further progress. It will increase our contribution to the common struggle for safeguarding peace and intensifying the global revolutionary process. The materials of the 26th CPSU and 16th CPCZ Congresses and the congresses of the other fraternal parties pay great attention to problems of intensification, its nature, distinguishing features, and means and methods for its practical implementation. In the report of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and, subsequently in that of Comrade G. Husak at our congress, we find a Marxist-Leninist characterization of the nature of intensification and intensive economic and social development.

The reports also describe the main sources of intensification and how to use them. As Comrade Gustav Husak said, "Science and technical progress are the decisive factors of intensification and the richest sources of higher social labor productivity. Scientific and technical development is a truly revolutionary task facing our entire society."

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress was discussed not only in terms of the development of science and research and even not only as an economic task, but as a truly general social task. The congress showed how under the party's leadership we can not only accelerate scientific and

technical progress but give it a new quality, raise it to an even higher level of production and technological renovation, turn it into a scientific and technical revolution and thus surmount all the obstacles we face.

Scientific and technical progress and public production intensification based on it can be achieved only by accelerating socialist economic integration, above all with the Soviet Union, and raising it to a qualitatively higher level. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU and our 16th CPCZ Congresses, this means to organize intensive production and scientific and technical cooperation, to coordinate the entire economic policy of the fraternal parties, to increase the similarity in the structures of the economic mechanisms, to broaden the direct relations among ministries, associations and enterprises involved in cooperated production, to create joint firms and to look for new means of unifying efforts and resources.

Among the subjective factors of intensification, the 16th congress gave priority to the planned management of the national economy and to all social processes which must be raised to an essentially new quality level. This task was formulated not in its general features but on an entirely specific basis. It was thickly underscored that it must be mainly a question of improving the quality of planning on all levels, from top to bottom, for, as Comrade G. Husak noted, planning trails behind the changes triggered by the growth of the national economy, the changing international and domestic circumstances and particularly the changes which are brought about by scientific and technical progress. Our party considers the recently adopted measures for improving the planned management of the national economy an important step in improving the planned management of society.

It is equally important to note that the 16th CPCZ Congress relates the further building of socialism to the utilization and multiplication of sources of social progress found only in socialism. This includes the creative forces of the working class, the cooperated peasantry and the intelligentsia led by the communist party. That is precisely why the 16th congress charted a course toward making qualitative changes in the minds, way of thinking and behavior of the people and the development of the creative nature of labor, so that it may be characterized by more efficient and qualitatively new results. In the light of all this, the need to improve the party's leadership in all facets of social life becomes understandable.

Finally, let us point out that the decisions of the 16th congress offer not only a scientific and realistic concept of building developed socialism, formulated in accordance with contemporary circumstances, but a clear strategic line aimed at stimulating the activeness of the working people. Both the concept and the line consistently rely on Marxism-Leninism and on the latest Marxist-Leninist discoveries and conclusions. They are consistent with the contemporary domestic and international conditions which govern our development and take into consideration the possibilities and resources available to our socialist society. They are also aimed at achieving substantial further progress toward the main goal -- the all-round development of the individual. Such development must be conceived not in terms of a matter for the distant future but as a process which takes place during the building of socialism, and the intensiveness of which increases with the

development of socialism. Therefore, by its very being developed socialism is not only accompanied by but demands the development of the individual.

Some positive results were achieved in the course of implementing the resolutions of our 16th party congress. Since all of us are quite familiar with them, there is obviously no reason to repeat them. However, in the field of economics, we are facing a number of difficulties. As we know, they were discussed at the last Central Committee plenums. In his address to the Fourth CC CPCZ Plenum in October 1981, Comrade Gustav Husak said: "The results of our efforts to upgrade work effectiveness and quality are still inconsistent with the importance and growing relevance of increasingly complex problems, despite progress already made in this area. The facts are that despite the proper decisions and steps we took, despite the work done, our economy has still not been able adequately to adapt itself to the substantially worsened conditions in the world and at home. Political and economic developments in the world are becoming more instead of less difficult. The circumstances which are and will be developing will make it more rather than less difficult for us."

Comrade G. Husak exposed the main subjective reason for which we have been unable so far to implement the line of the 16th CPCZ Congress with sufficient efficiency: "Both yesterday and today the nature of the roots of our current problems was discussed from this rostrum. It was pointed out with full justification that some comrades, who profess to agree entirely with the decisions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, in fact behave as though the adopted resolutions do not apply to their enterprise, cooperative, city, rayon, etc. While giving its proper due to the work done after the congress, we must admit that in some sectors we have not been sufficiently systematic, persistent and decisive in the struggle for the implementation of its program, particularly in fulfilling this year's national economic plan. The two-faced approach to the decisions of the supreme party organ -- giving them verbal support while implementing them halfway and sluggishly -- can be described only as opportunism in practice." Both this statement and the work of the Fourth and Fifth CC CPCZ Plenums prove that the problems related to further development are in the area of practical work.

Therefore, the roots of our present difficulties, which became apparent during the implementation of the tasks set by the 16th CPCZ Congress, lie not only in the worsened objective conditions of our development but in a number of subjective reasons which Comrade Gustav Husak described as opportunism in practice. Like it or not, the subjective factors are the decisive ones today. Under the present circumstances, good results can be achieved and the circumstances themselves can be changed by applying all our strength, ability and activeness. As Comrade Gustav Husak said, the line of the 16th party congress is aimed at reaching an absolutely realistic objective -- not only to compensate for but to surmount the consequences of the worsened international and domestic conditions governing the building of socialism through intensification. This is the only correct line acceptable to the people. Its implementation will determine the preservation of the living standard and the social gains of the people, the strength and the further development of socialism in our country and the implementation of our international obligations.

Last year, we were unable to maintain the required pace of socioeconomic development. The results of the 1981 plan and the plan for 1982 are noted for the reduced growth rates of the national income. All the proper efforts must be made during the remaining 3 years of the five-year plan to ensure its planned growth. We can easily see how this can have very tangible results in terms of material production, social developments and other areas of social life. That is why, as the party always points out, a decisive struggle must be waged for the systematic implementation of the decisions of the 16th congress and for making substantial progress toward developed socialism not only in public production but in all other areas of life on the basis of comprehensive intensification.

The role and responsibility of science, social science above all, are legitimately increasing in the struggle for implementing the decisions of our 16th party congress. Scientific works in the social sciences must not only interpret the congress' decisions. Naturally, this is necessary, but above all it must develop the theory of the general line of building a developed socialist society, investigate all aspects and interrelationships between strategy and tactics for at the implementation of this line and provide scientifically substantiated, realistic and constructive recommendations on the practical implementation of party policy. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's statement at the 25th CPSU Congress is basically relevant to our activities as well: "...Nothing is more practical than a good theory." It is precisely this kind of theory that we must formulate.

The primary task of science, if it is to help the party and the entire society to make fuller and more effective use of the possibilities and advantages of socialism, is to become better acquainted with the laws of socialism and with the mechanism of their action and the means to apply them.

As a whole, the current familiarity with the general laws of socialism, as described in party documents and scientific publications, is sufficiently profound and extensive. The statement by Comrade M. A. Suslov to the effect that the level reached by the fraternal communist and workers parties in the socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all, in which a developed socialist society is being created or advanced, in the study of these laws has enabled us to discover and to study them better and above all to use them more effectively, has become quite familiar lately. Let us name among these laws above all the following:

ensuring a high level of development of production forces based on the latest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution;

further development of socialist ownership in its two basic forms -- state and kolkhoz-cooperative and the further rapprochement between them;

steady growth of the people's well-being, as the main objective of the socialist economy;

observing and improving the socialist principle of distribution according to labor as the basic distribution method;

progressive changes in the social structure: enhancing the leading role of the working class, strengthening its ties with the other toiling strata and strengthening the unity of the entire society and its socialist homogeneity;

growing ideological and political rapprochement among all nations and nationalities on the basis of equality and common communist ideals and the powerful development of their economies and cultures;

growth of the state of proletarian dictatorship into the socialist state of the whole people and intensification and all-round development of socialist democracy;

further enhancement of the educational and cultural standards of the people, their increased political and ideological awareness and maturity and adoption of a scientific Marxist-Leninist outlook by the broad toiling masses;

intensifying comprehensive cooperation among fraternal socialist countries;

coordination of their foreign policies in the struggle for most favorable international conditions for the building of socialism and communism;

protecting the gains of socialism from internal and external enemies;

increasing the leading role of communist and workers parties in all areas of social life as the main prerequisite for the development and triumph of socialism and communism.

The level of knowledge we have reached enables us, and practical requirements persistently dictate the continued study of these laws governing the building of a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia and most of all the study of the mechanism for their application. In order for this mechanism to become practically useful it must be understood from the viewpoint of the conscious and maximal utilization of the subject of social progress -- the working class, allied with all working people and headed by the communist party -- in achieving the revolutionary transformation of society and ensuring the necessary internal and external material conditions for its existence.

Studies which offer a theoretical interpretation of the historical experience acquired by Czechoslovakia at the separate stages in the building of socialism lead to a conclusion similar to the interpretation of the basic common laws of the building and development of socialism included in the 1957 Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties in the Socialist Countries. They give priority to the legitimate expansion of the role of the subject of historical action -- the working class -- headed by its vanguard -- the communist party -- and allied with all working people, the cooperated peasantry and the intelligentsia, i.e., the people's masses. Only then can we provide a theoretical solution to a particularly important problem in terms of present-day practical activities -- substantially improving the full and efficient conscious use of the objective laws of socialism.



In the final account, social material living conditions, public production above all, objectively determine all social progress. However, these conditions can cause changes in the activities of the subject of historical action and create new causal relations in the development of social progress. This question must be developed not only because of theoretical requirements but for political and practical considerations as well, so that, given the increased complexity of subjective conditions which determine our present development, we may acquire the possibility of countering fatalism and opportunism and intensifying the scientifically substantiated revolutionary-transforming role of the working class and all working people headed by the communist party.

The legitimate expansion of the role of the subject presumes the expansion of its opportunities and strength and the possibility of implementing its historical role.

This dialectical interconnection and trend in a period when new and greatly different conditions have appeared in governing the development of socialism were brought to light and codified as the party's line by the 15th CPCZ Congress. The CC CPCZ report submitted by Comrade G. Husak at the congress pointed out that "However, it is not only a question of our tasks becoming more difficult; our forces and the resources needed for the execution of these tasks are growing as well." The congress named these forces and resources.

As the problems to be resolved become more difficult, we need a deeper knowledge of the laws of the increased role of the communist party and their mechanism of action and utilization. We must abandon the old approach of merely noting the objective nature of this increase and make a deeper study of existing laws in order to use them efficiently on the basis of the fuller identification of relations and the mechanism of interaction between subject and object and vice-versa.

It is also important to develop further the problem of the legitimate expansion of the role of politics not only in terms of economics but of the entire social development process. We must become better familiar with the mechanism through which politics affects this process and draw theoretical conclusions which could serve practical activities efficiently.

Based on the experience acquired in building socialism, life itself poses the question of theoretically substantiating the conclusion that the increasingly better satisfaction of the steadily rising material and spiritual requirements of the people or, more specifically, the systematic achieving of full prosperity and comprehensive free development of man is not only a basic economic but a general sociological law.

Unquestionably, a part of the basic laws operating today, this law follows the law of the increased role of the subject of social influence. The point is that it not simply "directs" and "guides" the actions of all other laws but that it influences them substantially. In the final account, it governs the functioning of the entire system of socialist laws and above all the extent of their economic and social effectiveness.

This interpretation of the knowledge of the laws of socialism is important from the theoretical, political and practical viewpoints, for it is a starting point in their application and in allowing socialism to reach its stage of full maturity.

In this connection, the problem is above all that of making the subsequent fate of socialism independent of the steady reduction and, in the case of some countries, the possibly total exhaustion of traditional resources of economic growth. In order for the legitimate historical superiority of socialism to be manifested to its fullest extent and in order to reach our immediate and final targets consistently, we must find new sources and factors of social progress instead of merely upgrading the efficiency with which available resources are utilized.

The study of the experience gained in building socialism and its development trends also leads to the conclusion that planning is not only an economic but a general sociological law.

In order to resolve the problems which were assigned to us by the 16th party congress successfully and highly effectively, and to achieve further success in building developed socialism, it is important to clarify on the basis of acquired experience and its theoretical summation the fact that intensification is dictated not by short-term considerations but that it is a law which governs the advance of the socialist economy and the entire society toward developed socialism and communism. The high efficiency and quality of all work and all social activities, revolutionary changes in the nature and division of labor, the total well-being of the people, increased amount of leisure time and the free and comprehensive development of the individual can be achieved only through the intensification of social development.

Naturally, it is no simple matter to identify the point at which these laws become operative. The answer to this question requires the profound analysis of the entire historical process.

As was pointed out, the intensification of economic and social development triggers not simply a number of new interrelationships on the scale of the entire society but in turn requires the intensification, the intensive development of political, ideological and all other spiritual processes, not the least important among which is the further integration among socialist countries. Here as well the stipulation expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress applies: "Economic intensification and increased economic efficiency, should we translate this formula into the language of practical work, means mainly that production results must grow faster than production outlays, so that more can be achieved with relatively lesser production resources."

Stated briefly and somewhat simplistically but accurately, from the general sociological view point intensive development means the acceleration of social progress and the achievement of maximal results with a relative and also possible future absolute reduction in social labor and material outlays.

Our party has undertaken to resolve the problems related to the intensification of the economy and all social developments. These problems were included in the directive plan discussed by comrade G. Husak at the closing of the December 1981 CC CPCZ Plenum. He described "the need for further intensive development of political, organizational and educational work" as a prerequisite for implementing the assignments issued by the 16th CPCZ Congress, above all in terms of intensifying economic and social developments.

We must seriously consider formulations related to the study and possibilities of further utilization of the legitimate connection between science and the struggle waged by the working class and its allies, headed by the communist party, for building developed socialism and communism.

We must consider the consequences of the scientific and technical revolution not only in science, technology and production but in all of society. We must think of the revolutionary changes in the way of thinking and behavior of the people, which are objectively necessary in building mature socialism and communism. Not in the least we must also consider the anti-imperialist struggle. It is precisely the adoption of the revolutionary theory by the working class and all working people that becomes a powerful source and factor of social progress and which enables us, on the basis of the intensification of production and all social life not only to balance but also substantially to overcome the consequences objectively created today by the worsening and increased complexity of material conditions in the development of the socialist society.

Practical experience and its theoretical summation lead us to the conclusion that the legitimate growth of production forces based on the utilization of the latest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution should be conceived in terms of their qualitative reorganization into production forces of a new historical nature consistent with the higher phase of the communist socioeconomic system.

In other directions as well, deeper conclusions based on already existing knowledge on the effect of the general laws of socialism must be drawn from the theoretical interpretation of their manifestation under Czechoslovak conditions. It is a question mainly of the laws governing the development of socialist ownership, forms of distribution, planned progress of the entire society, its social and class structure, national relations, changes in the political system, spiritual life, etc.

Allow me to add to this a few minor considerations. The study of the experience acquired in building a developed socialist society in our country proves that at the present stage it we must concentrate on further intensification, consolidation and improvement of socialist statehood, the entire political system and the all-round energizing of the working class and all working people under the direction of the the CPCZ in order to intensify economic and all social life on the basis of the development of the scientific and technical revolution, integration with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and full and efficient utilization of the laws of the planned implementation of economic and social processes through qualitative improvements in the planned management of society. The

laws governing expanded relation among socialist countries, which reflect a higher level in their rapprochement and are expressed in the intensification of the economic and scientific and technical integration among them, must be developed and concretized further. Today this has extraordinarily important political consequences.

We also need a deeper study of the laws governing the class struggle between socialism and capitalism on a worldwide scale. This struggle is more violent today than in the past. It hinders the building of socialism and communism by forcing us to concentrate on the defense of socialism and peace and thus prevents socialism from fully proving its superiority over capitalism. A deeper knowledge of the laws governing this struggle, in the course of which the fate of mankind is being essentially decided, is the most important prerequisite for the final victory of the new system on a universal scale.

The other question I would like to discuss is that of the qualitative changes in social development typical of the present, and the correlation between quantitative and qualitative growth. In the social area for example, in which the congress called for preserving and improving the already existing living standard, an unusually important problem is being resolved: securing the level reached in satisfying the needs of the working people and improving it further despite the insignificant increase in, or the same or even reduced resources. This is a typical problem of intensification under contemporary conditions, which requires serious theoretical analysis.

All of this is also related to the problem of the further acceleration of the pace of social progress in the socioeconomic and other areas. The time when progress could be achieved on the basis of high growth rates of the social product and industrial consumption, and when that same progress could be assessed on that basis is gone forever. It is entirely clear today that said rates will never be the same as in the past. This does not mean at all, however, that we cannot reach the same or even higher rates of growth of end national economic results and overall social progress.

As we pointed out, resources of an entirely new type needed to achieve this either exist or can be created. Therefore, it is a question mainly of the subjective ability to make fuller and more efficient use of the socialist laws, advantages, possibilities and potential. It is objectively necessary to reach a maximal pace, dynamism and efficiency in social progress, for this determines not only the internal development of the socialist society and its successes or failures, but the strength of socialism, its fate, the outcome of the historical dispute with capitalism and the safeguarding of peace and, in general, the future of human civilization.

Naturally, many more theoretical problems remain to be studied. Let us mention first that of the interconnection between the general and the specific. Our experience proves that the general is the main factor to be considered and that it must be used to the benefit of the individual countries and the entire socialist comity. However, it must not be overestimated, not to say absolutized.

In order to formulate and implement our communist party policy most successfully, the theoretical approaches very few of which were mentioned here, must be developed. We must formulate precise criteria which will enable us to determine Czechoslovakia's entry into the stage of developed socialism and its distinguishing features in various areas, and to provide a general definition of the developed socialist society. This is exceptionally important, for their accurate formulation is of prime importance in terms of accurately choosing the ways, forces and means needed for resolving the problems.

The developed socialist society is not an objective for the distant future. It is our immediate task, which we can clearly perceive and imagine. Its implementation depends mainly on the further development and application of the creative forces of the working class and all working people in our country under the leadership of the communist party, the firm ideological and political unity within our people and the unity of action with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries.

The building of a developed socialist society, which is our immediate objective, will mean that we have reached the peak of the first phase of the communist socioeconomic system. At that stage, socialism will develop on its own basis comprehensively and highly effectively. At that stage, the full use of its laws and strength will become possible and so will combining of its advantages with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, intensive socioeconomic progress and the creation of production forces on a qualitatively new level and scale. This will enable us to enhance the maturity of the entire system of social relations, the inviolable ideological and political alliance between the working class and all working people, headed by the communist party, to reach a high standard of material and spiritual life, to create the most favorable conditions possible for the comprehensive development of the individual and to undertake directly the building of communism. This will represent a historical victory on the way to the socialist blossoming of Czechoslovakia as an organic component of the socialist comity and an active participant in the struggle for peace and upsurge in the world revolutionary process.

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CONTRIBUTION OF THE 24TH, 25TH AND 26TH CPSU CONGRESSES TO THE ELABORATION OF THE THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM AND THE TRANSITION TO COMMUNISM

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[Article by R. Kosolapov]

[Text] After listening closely to the opening speech and the first report submitted by my Czechoslovak colleagues, I deem it necessary above all to express my general agreement with the views expressed here.

We, the Soviet communists, accept with a tremendous feeling of gratitude the statements acknowledging the creative contributions of the CPSU, its Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally to the elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist concept of developed socialism.

However, it is our duty to emphasize that this concept is the result of the collective efforts of the fraternal ruling parties in the socialist comity on the subject of the scientific interpretation of the characteristics of the new society at the stage when it has already become firmly established on the basis of its own principles.

The need for such a concept became particularly clear by the end of the 1950s. By then several people's democracies had made substantial progress in laying the foundations for socialism or were close to completing the transitional period. The conclusion which was reached at the extraordinary 21st CPSU Congress, which was held in January-February 1959, also covered the question of the full and final victory of socialism in the Soviet Union. Therefore, this requirement faced our party as a theoretical and political problem whose time had come. Soon afterwards, this was reflected at the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties. Obviously, both logically and historically the formulation of the doctrine of developed socialism was related to the activities of international Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the theoretical activities of communists in many countries.

Naturally, we had already acquired a tremendous theoretical background and a methodology of historical materialism and scientific communism. The impressive overall picture of socialism which Marx depicted in his "Critique of the Gotha Program" has permanent value. F. Engels adopted a historical

approach to the socialist society, believing that it was not "something given once and for all but, like any other social system, it had to be considered as subject to continuing change and transformation" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 37, p 380).

In earmarking the essential milestones in building socialism, after the October Revolution, V. I. Lenin believed that it was of vital importance to the party not to become lost in the zigzags and sharp bends of history but to preserve its overview in order to see the thread binding the entire development of capitalism and the entire path to socialism. This path, he said, "is naturally conceived by us as being straight. We must consider it as such in order to be able to see its beginning, continuation and end. However, in reality it will never be straight. It will be incredibly complex..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 47).

Lenin called for submitting to the masses only tasks which were carefully planned and attainable. "Strictly differentiating among different stages and making a sober study of the conditions in which they develop," he pointed out, "does not mean in the least to postpone the final objective or to slow down in pursuing our way" (Ibid., Vol 9, p 131). Lenin clearly saw that laying the foundations for socialism was a labor-intensive and inevitably long-term process. After its completion, the new system would develop toward greater maturity and gradually reach a state which Lenin described as "developed socialist society," "completed socialism," "full socialism" and "expanded socialist society." These and other ideas expressed by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, which had always been part of our theoretical arsenal, were given priority in the 1960s.

The intensive work of the CPSU in drafting its third program and the concluding party documents on the occasions of the 50th and 60th anniversaries of the October Revolution, the centennial and 110th anniversary of Lenin's birth and the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, based on the fruitful research conducted by dozens of Soviet social scientists, contributed a great deal in this respect. Similar directions were followed by the comrades in the BCP, MSZMP, SED, RCP, PZPR and CPCZ in their efforts to refine the programmatic stipulations of their parties, proceeding from the general laws governing the socialist revolution, the features of the specific period and the characteristics of their countries.

The fact that we were able to define together the lines of research which now can be considered as leading nowhere was also useful. Thus, the accelerated attempts of the Maoists to jump from the unfinished transitional period directly to the second phase of communism toward the end of the 1950s created a natural mistrust in the simplified idea of communism as being merely the result of qualitative change. The concept according to which the length of the first phase of communism was grounds for considering socialism a separate socioeconomic system proved to be equally invalid. Finally, life proved the premature and fatal nature of attempts to combine the building of developed socialism with the conflicting reality of the transitional period and the quite unfinished class struggle, as was the case with Poland.

The first conclusion that a developed socialist society had been built in the USSR was made, as we know, in 1967, in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report "50 Years of Great Socialist Victories." In this connection, until recently our social scientists, our historians in particular, engaged in a lively and sometimes sharp debate as to the time when Soviet society entered the developed socialist stage. I shall not enumerate here the various viewpoints, but will only say that the opinion which prevailed and which I share was that this social change could not be dated in terms of a single year but an entire historical period, more specifically the second half of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. This view is supported by the qualitative changes which had taken place in the base and superstructure of our society and the implementation of a policy which was maximally consistent with the requirements of reality. The formulation of such a policy is justly related to the October 1964 CC CPSU Plenum and the 23rd party congress (1966).

In order to gain a better understanding of the contributions of the 24th (1971), 25th (1976) and 26th (1981) CPSU Congresses to the elaboration of the concept of developed socialism we must consider two main aspects of the studies they made of social reality and remember them at all times.

The first was the deeper Marxist-Leninist understanding of the processes of socialization of labor, production and all social life and their role in the fate of the new system.

The second was the understanding reached that developed socialism was a social entity about to be established.

At this point I must digress somewhat.

The problem of socialization became much more topical during the second half of the 1960s, not only as a result of the objective changes which had taken place in the material and technical base of the new society but the intensified attacks launched by anticommunist and revisionist elements against the very concept of "socialism," which cannot be defined without the concept of "socialization." The Marxist-Leninist parties pay a high price for the erosion of scientific concepts regarding socialism and its material foundations in the areas of propaganda and public opinion. You know this as well as we do on the basis of your own experience. I remember copying the following excerpt from a speech by Comrade G. Husak in 1969: "Let us above all point out clearly, like Marxists, the point we have reached, what we conceive ourselves to be, what it is that we want, and what is our political objective. First of all we must clarify the situation within our party. Some people have made it so confused that one no longer knows what they mean by "socialism." They view it as some kind of social democratic broth of the petit bourgeois theory of classlessness, the creation of all sorts of privileged groups and journalistic and other elites, a break with the socialist countries, the violation of the principles of proletarian internationalism and the party's leading role, etc."

Did something similar not occur in Poland quite recently? Was the desire to have the final word on this matter not inspired by the petty idea of French bourgeois sociologist A. Tourenne proclaiming the "death" of socialism?



Thus, we directly interrelate socialism with socialization. This is consistent with the objectives (and essence) of socialism as formulated by Lenin: making the land, factories and all productive capital in general the property of the entire society and replacing the capitalist production method with a production method based on a general plan in the interest of all members of society" (Ibid., Vol 4, p 263).

You clearly remember that Lenin defined communism as well in terms of the principle of commonness. "A communist society," he said, "means that everything is common -- land, factories and joint labor. That is what communism is" (Ibid., Vol 41, p 314). Naturally, these are all elementary basic Marxist truths. However, it is precisely they that are being mainly questioned by the enemy. What is the value of the Polish right wing's position which demands the perpetuation of the private producer in the socialist social system and the replacement of scientific socialism with Prudhonism, without actually pursuing either? This is a clear theoretical manifestation of the opposition on the part of the small-scale private production system to the historically inevitable progressive advance of large-scale production in general and socialist production in particular. This aspect of the matter must never be ignored.

Before confirming the conclusion that a developed socialist society had been built in the USSR, the 24th CPSU Congress noted that "As we know, in our country socialism won as early as the second half of the 1930s. More than 3 decades of heroic labor and struggle waged by the Soviet people have passed since. Both then and now our economy has remained based on the same type of production relations and economic laws -- the laws of socialism. However, we cannot ignore the important new features which distinguish the contemporary economy from the economy of the end of the 1930s."

The congress named these features, which include an entirely new scale of the national economy, tremendous economic power based on multisectorial industry and large-scale agriculture, progressive science, and skilled cadres of workers, specialists and economic managers. In addition to the growth of our economic possibilities, the congress noted the increased demands of society toward economics. "As we advance in one sector or another," the congress noted, "however important it may be, we no longer can allow the formation of a substantial lag in others." This emphasized the increasing interdependence among all national economic units and the comprehensive nature of normal economic growth.

If we consider these phenomena from the viewpoint of production, technological, organizational and property relations and in terms of exchange of activities and distribution, we cannot ignore Lenin's interpretation of the various levels and depths of production socialization. As we know, Lenin did not consider socialization a one-time act, which could be reduced to the concepts of "confiscation," "nationalization" or "collectivization." He considered socialization a complex process of increased and comprehensive takeover by the proletarian state of the totality of production forces and production-economic relations, without which the objectives of socialist production could not be attained.

It is well known that Lenin distinguished between the primary socialization of productive capital and material and spiritual goods, related to the change of ownership, and actual socialization (Ibid., Vol 36, pp 171, 293-294). Whereas both the latest machines and primitive manual labor tools may be the subject of primary socialization -- their simple combination was frequently the basis for the creation of the young socialist cooperatives -- actual socialization presumes the management of a material and technical base consistent with socialism and involving the widespread enhancement of the cultural and technical standards and skills of the working people, their training in progressive economic management methods and the organization of nationwide accountability and control. Whereas in the the primary socialization stage the socialist economy could still be the sum total of not always closely related economic units, actual socialization meant the creation of a single systematically functioning and developing national economic organism.

Only 10-12 years ago, this aspect of Lenin's socialist doctrine was rarely mentioned in our publications. References to it became frequent after the 24th CPSU Congress. Lenin's views on the subject are used precisely in order to define the features of developed socialism, which are mainly high-level actual socialization of labor and production. Today the entire social organism is powered by the Unified Power Supply System. Society poses and resolves the problem of eliminating manual unskilled and hard physical labor. The close combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the socialist economic system and its conversion to intensified development have become most urgent problems.

As the materials of the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses indicate, the continuing socialization of labor is a process in depth on which the improvement of the socialist and the establishment of communist production relations is based. It is directly manifested in production concentration, particularly in industry, and in the creation of production and scientific-production associations.

Characteristically, at the developed socialist stage the concentration process has extended to agrarian production as well which, as you know, involves two types of agricultural enterprises -- state, of the whole nation (sovkhozes) and group, cooperative (kolkhozes. The associations which have been set up in this sector (about 10,000 by now) include both kolkhozes and sovkhozes. They are also frequently combined with state enterprises engaged in processing farm products. This constitutes the organizational form of the future single agroindustrial complex, in which the nationwide and cooperative sectors of the socialist economy merge.

Our country has entered a period in which every one can note the essentially changed structure of socialist public ownership. In addition to associations in industry, which are gaining strength, today interfarm units are operating in republics, krays and oblasts. On the one hand, they cannot be considered yet a nationwide form of ownership; on the other, however they are no longer traditional form of kolkhoz or sovkhoz ownership. The conventional view on these forms of collective acquisition of means, objects and products of labor is not essentially challenged, although at the present time it looks somewhat schematic. The new economic realities, which indicate that the two forms of

ownership are becoming firmly welded to each-other, require a comprehensive and thorough interpretation. Unfortunately, our scientists have not made a sufficiently deep study of the social nature of these phenomena as yet.

The growth of agroindustrial integration is the portent of the extension of nationwide ownership to all productive capital in both industry and agriculture. In the past, such ownership was frequently described as "communist." The fact that it brings us closer to communism is unquestionable, but it would be premature, to say the least, to consider its organization as our entry into the second phase of the new system. We could also put this as follows: it is in this area that a certain imbalance in the development of the various aspects of the economic base will be revealed sooner. Clearly, the establishment of a single nationwide ownership of productive capital in all economic sectors will outstrip the reaching of the communist maturity stage in the case of some other elements of production relations, and will unquestionably outstrip the considerably more comprehensive process of the transformation of labor into a prime vital need. That is why it would be logical to assume that the single nationwide ownership will initially develop and exist for a while within the historical limits of the first phase of communism. In other words, initially it will be socialist. This fully agrees with the predictions made by Marx, Engels and Lenin. It will also confirm in practice Lenin's idea of a single nationwide cooperative as described by Marx in his "Critique of the Gotha Program."

In itself, the process of socialization of labor and production cannot be adequately described without a comprehensive description of the trends which accompany it and which trigger substantial changes in the wide range of social relations and the way of life itself of millions of people. These trends include, first, industrialization, which covers both the industrial and consumer sectors; second, urbanization, which means the qualitative reorganization of the human habitat on the basis of modern industrial and cultural achievements; third, internationalization of social life, based on the uniform features inherent in the socialist society, which has no class and national antagonisms; fourth, integration in the area of social relations, founded on the basic trends we mentioned and expressed in the increasing rapprochement among the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia.

The 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses paid the closest possible attention to the development of social relations in the country; whereas the 24th congress concentrated on the condition of the present social structure in Soviet society, the 26th emphasized its dynamics.

There were substantial practical reasons for this. "The social structure of society and power are characterized," Lenin said, "by changes without the clarification of which we cannot take a single step in any area of social activity. The clarification of these changes determines the question of the future. Naturally, this does not mean making empty guesses about something no one knows anything about, but the definition of the basic trends in economic and political development, which determine the immediate future of the country and the tasks, directions and nature of activities of all conscious social leaders" (Ibid., Vol 20, p 186).

For the past 40 years there have been no exploiting classes in the Soviet Union, and the features of the developing classless social system have become quite apparent in it. The study of the manner in which the class characteristics identified by Marxism-Leninism appear in contemporary Soviet reality indicates that developed socialism is a social system in which class barriers have been essentially eliminated, class lines are very flexible and the citizens can freely and actively move from one social stratum of working people to another.

"In order to eliminate classes," Lenin wrote in 1919, "one must begin by overthrowing the landowners and the capitalists. We have accomplished this, but this is only part of the process, and not the hardest at that. Secondly, in order to eliminate classes we must eliminate the differences which separate workers from peasants and turn all of them into working people. This cannot be accomplished immediately. It is an incomparably harder and necessarily longer task, which cannot be accomplished by overthrowing one class or another. It can be accomplished only through the organizational restructuring of the entire public economy and the conversion from isolated, individual small-scale economy to large-scale public economy" (Ibid., Vol 39, pp 276-277). Such reorganization and conversion can be completed under developed socialism. This also solves the second part of the problem of the elimination of classes, which Lenin formulated, and is one of the most important conclusions reached at the 26th CPSU Congress.

Currently, differences between the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry, based on fundamental class or class-forming characteristics, in the language of sociology, are increasingly vanishing. This means that both classes have objectively reached the stage of strengthening their traditional alliance, which borders their organic merger into a single entity, a united classless labor association, the creation of which was predicted by the founders of scientific communism.

As a rule, the terms "classless society" and "socially homogenous society" are used interchangeably in literature. This, however, requires a certain clarification. Naturally, the social homogeneity of the population, once it has been achieved, clearly means the absence of class contradictions and differences. However, the elimination of differences among classes in itself will not resolve the problem, although it represents a qualitative move toward class homogeneity. Briefly stated, whereas a classless social structure is created through the unification of the basic class-forming features in a nonantagonistic society, its socially homogenous structure can be established only as a result of the subsequent total elimination of the old division of labor. The building of a classless society and subsequently its social homogeneity are structural components of the systematic solution of the single problem of establishing social equality. However, these components have different meanings and are used at different times.

Modern Soviet society is noted, on the one hand, for its simplified macrostructure -- the intensive elimination of the most profound and sharpest socioclass differences -- and, on the other, for the increased complexity of its microstructure -- the relatively increased role of nonclass differences in daily life, which were of secondary importance in the past. "The

removal of class differences," the 26th CPSU Congress noted, "naturally presents social policy with new tasks. It becomes increasingly focused on eliminating differences which go beyond individual classes and on the solution of problems which require closest possible consideration of the features and interests of each individual group within our society."

Bearing in mind such objective features in the establishment of a classless socially homogenous society, it is important not to ignore the social force at the center of such changes, which leaves its determining imprint on them. Otherwise, carried away by sociological exercises in the areas of increased social, professional, age or any other social differentiation, we risk to lose our main perspective and considered understanding of events.

The working class is the force, the "social mind and social heart" we are referring to (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 1, p 425) of the developing classless society and all other revolutionary processes. Engels' thesis according to which "the situation of the working class is the real foundation and starting point of all contemporary social movements..." remains relevant and acquires a new meaning (K. Marx and F. Engels, Ibid., Vol 2, p 238). It is precisely the working class which is the mass guarantor in reaching social homogeneity and social equality.

The leading position of the working class, which is based mainly on its position and role in the social production system, is becoming stronger in our country also because that class now accounts for the majority of the working people. Today three quarters of all Soviet workers have higher or secondary (complete or incomplete) education. "The very nature of the labor of the contemporary worker is changing," the 26th congress noted. "It is acquiring an increasingly greater intellectual content." Together with the other groups of builders of communism, the Soviet working class is justifiably considered the carrier of the creative and cultural potential of the developed socialist society. The role of the working class in the revolutionary movement and the building of socialism, its political aspect, interests, views and morality are becoming the social standard of all social groups of working people. The increased rapprochement between it and the peasantry and the intelligentsia is legitimately increasing under this type of conditions which prevail in our country.

The changed aspect of the social strata in the developed socialist society in the image and likeness of the working class and the rapprochement among them are taking place under the conditions of ageneral improvement in the well-being and culture of the people. The degree of the population's social homogeneity is manifested in the uniform Soviet-wide features of the way of life of workers, peasants and intellectuals, which is developing and strengthening also because in our country the number of families considered "purely worker," "purely peasant" and "purely intellectual" is declining.

The interpenetration among the different classes and social groups of working people, their "diffusion," is a specific phenomenon inherent in the Soviet people as a new historical community. This is not a chaotic "mixing" of all social strata but a legitimate and purposeful trend which is quite visible. "In assessing the experience in the development of our society in recent

decades," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in summing up the question, "I believe that we can assume that the establishment of a classless social structure will take place in its essential features within the historical framework of mature socialism." The 26th CPSU Congress thus confirmed Engels' statement on the working class: "...The time must come when it will no longer be a class but will represent the entire society" (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Ibid.*, Vol 19, p 296). The 26th congress will be go down in history for having concretized developed socialism as the concept of the establishment of a classless socialist society.

The materials of the congress indicate that the Leninist party and the Soviet people have advanced toward the implementation of one of the greatest programmatic objectives of the October Revolution. As defined by Marx, Engels and Lenin, the young classless society will be initially (there is no way to determine the duration of this period at this point) not communist but socialist. However, describing it as classless, something to which particular attention should be paid, naturally does not mean that it will be socially structureless.

As we pointed out, the elimination of class distinctions is not in the least the equivalent of total social homogeneity. It can be achieved as a result of the elimination of manual, unskilled and heavy physical labor and the gradual elimination of socially significant differences among people engaged in primarily physical or mental, monotonous or creative and organizational or performing work. These vestiges of the old division of labor will influence the social structure of the classless socialist society as well for quite some time. Clearly, differences among people in terms of skill will become relatively more important in its social structure which, we may assume, will have something like a "cellular" nature, consisting, to use Lenin's words once again, of a "network of production-consumption communes which will conscientiously regulate their production and consumption, save on labor and steadily improve its productivity..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 185).

Obviously, the influence of the various types of labor collectives and mass associations of working people will increase greatly. The role of their party organizations, which lead and rally them, will continue to grow as the concentrated expression and channel of the universal-historical mission of the working class under the new different circumstances.

What kind of special mission of the working class could there be if the building of a classless socialist society implies its disappearance? This is a question almost bound to be asked. However, it should bother no one, for the historical change we are discussing here will be nothing but proof that the interests of the working class have been met and have now become those of the whole working population. The education of the population in a class-proletarian spirit and its consolidation on class-proletarian positions is the party's main political and ideological task. The writings of Western futurologists, according to which future society is depicted as having no toiling masses, which have been replaced by "intelligent" robots controlled by "eggheads" are naive and nonpolitical. In these systems, which are clearly inconsistent with the actual trends in social development, the Marxist-Leninist class approach is replaced by a technocratic approach, while

a universal developed mass socialist democracy is replaced with leadership by a few academically mature specialists and by some scientific and technical "elite."

Although we draw attention to the economic and social criteria of socialist maturity as initial and basic, we should not limit ourselves at all to their exclusive consideration. A developed social system cannot be judged solely on the basis of partial factors, regardless of their intrinsic importance, precisely because it is a system.

Soviet social scientists consider the research method Marx used in discussing the establishment of the new system quite effective. He wrote that "If in a complete bourgeois system each economic relation presumes another type of bourgeois-economic relation, as a result of which any given is also a postulate, the same would apply to any...organic system. Being something integral, this organic system has its own postulates and its development toward integrity consists precisely of dominating all social elements or create within itself the organs it lacks. It is thus that in the course of historical development the system becomes integral. The establishment of such an integral system is part of its development process" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 46, part 1, p 229).

Obviously, this equally applies to socialism. After its full victory, i.e., its conversion into an "organic" social system, any one of its socioeconomic relations presumes others (increasingly, as we progress), acting as their prerequisite and deriving its own prerequisites from them. The socialist system as well tends to convert into a specific qualitative integrity, subordinating the various areas of social life to its principles and norms and eliminating all recurrences of the private ownership system and alien social phenomena.

This is precisely the stage when our system becomes integral that it becomes mature socialism, in which the decisive elements of the social way of life have already been reorganized on a collectivistic basis, and the homogeneity "direct" and "inverse" relations have become obvious. As was noted at the 24th CPSU Congress, the most important feature of these changes is the fact that "the improved well-being of the working people is becoming an increasingly urgent requirement of our economic development and one of the important economic prerequisites for the fast growth of the production process." The aim of the party course related to this feature is to define "the long-term overall orientation in the country's economic development." The continuity of this course was confirmed at the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses. "Specific concern for the working person and his needs and requirements," the accountability report stipulated, "is the first and last point of the party's economic policy." It is precisely the study of the establishment of socialism as an organic system and then as an integrity based on the principles of real humanism that is the focal point of attention of our social science. Incidentally, Lenin's description of this social condition is generally consistent with the term "integral socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 36, p 306).

It would be impossible to imagine ideological life in the Soviet Union in the second half of the 1970s without the tremendous amount of research which took

place during the drafting and nationwide discussion of the current USSR Constitution. This was consistent with the decision of the 25th CPSU Congress. Its purpose was to codify the mature socialist social relations and to sum-up the achievements and principles of contemporary socialist statehood and democracy. Many party documents of that period and the constitution itself apply the approach advocated by Marx and Lenin. "The most important distinguishing features of the developed socialist society call for giving full scope to the effect of the laws of socialism for the sake of the manifestation of all of its advantages in all areas of social life, the organic integrity and dynamism of the social system, its political stability and its unbreakable internal unity," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev wrote in the article "A Historical Landmark on the Way to Communism."

Let me remind you that in the course of the theoretical discussions, which took place in the 1960s-1970s, an attempt was made to "define" socialism as a system which replaces capitalism and precapitalist social relations by revolutionary means. The "universal features" of this suggestion included the existence of two main forms of socialist ownership -- state and cooperative -- and two classes of the same socialist nature. It is easy to realize in this connection that extending this "definition" to the developed socialist society immediately created many methodological difficulties. Thus, it was clearly inconsistent with the idea of this society as being a fully established integrity.

Actually, communism, the transition to which is prepared by the entire socialist practice, is conceived from the very start as a classless social system with a single nationwide ownership of productive capital. The following question arises: in what phase of the new society do these qualities appear and develop? The natural answer is, nowhere else but under socialism. But then its progress must also mean the gradual disappearance of the "defined" allegedly universal but actually transient characteristics. The insistence that they are "mandatory" for the entire duration of socialism, including its stage of maturity, not only ignores the dialectics of social development but erects an insurmountable barrier in the matter of understanding the problems of the transition from socialism to communism and makes this conversion impossible.

The powerful and complex trend of the conversion of socialism into an integral system is entirely consistent with the law of labor and production socialization. It means the intensification of the processes of rapprochement between the nationwide and cooperative forms of ownership and between cultural and living conditions in town and country on the basis of total sectorial industrialization. The important components of this trend are the gradual development of an attitude shared by workers, peasants and intellectuals regarding productive capital, the disappearance of social distinctions among classes and between intellectual and physical workers, and extending to all population strata the best and most progressive sociopolitical and moral qualities of the working class. This leads to the formation of an increasingly closer socialist alliance among working people of all nationalities and workers employed in industry, agriculture, culture and the production of material and spiritual goods and in the production and nonproduction areas. These are the basic social prerequisites consistent with the



transformation of socialism into an organic entity, leading to the growth of the working class statehood into the socialist statehood of the whole people. This is a historical step toward future communist social self-management.

In other words, the intention of leaving unchanged the dual nature of social ownership of productive capital, the class division of the population and other features of early socialism, which are subject to the greatest change in the course of its transition to a developed stage and subsequently to the communist phase, will obviously clash with the scientific concept of the development of the socialist society as an integral system.

Why is the idea of the integrity of socialism valuable to us?

First, because it enables us to distinguish between socialism in its "finished form" (V. I. Lenin, *Ibid.*, Vol 36, p 65) and recently established immature socialism, which is only one of several economic sectors or systems.

Second, it agrees with the concept of the international nature of the new system, making the rather sterile and irksome talk about "models of socialism," meaningless, for "integral socialism can develop out of the revolution-are cooperation among the proletariat of all countries only as a result of different efforts, every single one of which, taken separately, will be one-sided and reveal some disparities" (*Ibid.*, p 306).

Third, it helps to identify still unresolved problems, possible directions in completing the building of the new society, and its temporary shortcomings and growing pains.

Starting with the concept of "integral socialism," we can determine without too much difficulty the reason for the error made by the Polish leaders, who proclaimed the slogan of building developed socialism in the 1970s, even though Poland was far from having completed even the transitional period. The lack of real prerequisites for resolving the problem of "who-whom?" and, furthermore, the unnecessary concealment of the problem behind claims of the existence of some sort of nonclass social unity despite the dominant nature of petty commodity production in the countryside, growing indebtedness to the West and growth of consumerist moods could not fail to have a fatal influence on the country's future development. The crisis which broke out in Poland was the result of aggravated contradictions, which the party should have been able to anticipate and resolve on time with the help of the working class.

Poland became the subject of concentrated ideological and psychological indoctrination by bourgeois propaganda, whose efforts to discredit the idea of socialism were of a clearly anti-Soviet nature. The West tried to insinuate to the Poles, as well as to the rest of the world, that the reason for the negative processes taking place in that country was the "Soviet model of socialism," allegedly imposed upon it. Naturally, this "charge" could have been accepted only by politically naive and economically ignorant people. Alas, many such people were found to exist. It is precisely they who need today a thorough explanation of the great difference which existed between the Polish socioeconomic and political "model," which was practiced until 1980, and the Soviet experience. This applies not only to differences

related to the separate national levels of economic and social development, traditions and so on, but to the principles themselves.

"Profiting from the Polish crisis," Comrade V. Biljak said at the party aktiv meeting held in Bratislava last December, "hostile propaganda is trying not only to discredit socialism in Poland but socialism in general. The concept of the inevitability of crises and conflicts in the socialist countries, allegedly inherent in the very foundations of socialism, or perhaps of the 'Soviet model' of socialism only, is being disseminated. This propaganda has found its way in the statements of some so-called Eurocommunist leaders as well. The historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution is being questioned. This is either proof of the ignorance of the laws of the class struggle or conscious opportunism. The Polish crisis is totally unrelated to the 'Soviet model' of socialism which, according to hostile propaganda, was practiced by the former Polish leadership. On the contrary, the crisis and the dangerous actions of the counterrevolution were the result of the deviation from the Leninist principles of the tried building of socialism."

It is our comradely obligation to express today our class, Marxist-Leninist and internationalist solidarity with the Polish communists and patriots who are stubbornly working today, under the difficult conditions of martial law, to normalize the situation in the country, courageously defending the gains of socialism and rebuffing the intrigues of its enemies.

Unquestionably, "integral socialism," to which the developed socialist society is getting closer, demands the comprehensive development of large-scale socialized socialist production and a single collectivistic national economy. However, no extremes should be allowed here, as was the case when the struggle against private ownership was extended to the private auxiliary farms, which are a different type of ownership, a struggle which caused substantial economic harm to society.

Are private auxiliary farms compatible with developed socialism? This question, which is being extensively debated today, can be answered in the affirmative. Furthermore, they are also compatible with communism, providing that they remain only an amateur crop growing and animal husbandry activity, lose their economic function and are no longer a source of income.

Unquestionably, our general task is to ensure the people's well-being through the comprehensive increase in public production. However, should a scarcity of consumer goods develop and remain temporarily unrelieved state and cooperative enterprises, the working people have the right to satisfy their needs through other legitimate means. This was pointed out as early as the 24th CPSU Congress. The congress recommended to the party organizations to give the necessary help to kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers in acquiring cattle, poultry and feed, while focusing their main attention on increasing public production, and to "consider the problem of creating conditions enabling pensioners, housewives and disabled people to work to the best of their ability in the service industry, whether at home, individually, or in cooperatives, thus helping themselves and society."

The 26th congress pointed out that private auxiliary farms "can make a substantial contribution to the production of meat, milk and some other products. Gardens, poultry and cattle belonging to the working people are part of our common wealth." It is important to keep these farms precisely as auxiliary, i.e., to let them develop within the framework of socialist production relations and laws, without sponging on the public sector and becoming a private industry or a means for using someone else's unpaid labor.

The 25th CPSU Congress qualified the Soviet socialist way of life as one of the decisive results of our post-October development. This way of life is clearly delineated by an atmosphere of true collectivism and comradeship, which are becoming stronger with every passing day, friendship among all nations and nationalities and moral health, which make us strong and firm in our work and struggle.

In this light, the duplication of systems for the development of needs typical of the capitalist society, and the borrowing of bourgeois consumer standards, which deform the moral aspect of some individuals who, although living in a socialist society lead a nonsocialist way of life, become totally unacceptable. "We have achieved a great deal in improving the material prosperity of the Soviet people," speakers addressing the 25th congress said. "We shall continue to resolve this problem systematically. However, the growth of material possibilities must always be accompanied by the enhancement of the ideological-moral and cultural standards of the people. Otherwise we may have recurrences of philistine and petit bourgeois mentality. This facet should not be ignored." This statement not only formulates an important task in the field of education but indicates a direction to be followed in the development of consumption related private ownership during the transition from socialism to communism.

No one has the right to ignore the fact that in our society we still encounter cases of money-grubbing, total concentration on personal comforts and the desire to live beyond one's means. There still are individuals who have not only socialist sources of income, i.e., based on distribution according to labor, but income "on the left," i.e., earned through black-marketeering, cheating customers and clients, illegal work for private customers using government-owned facilities, bribery, etc. As a rule, all of this is the consequence of the insufficiently high level of ideological and educational work, on the one hand, and poor control on the part of the public and omissions on the part of administrations and public order organs, on the other. That is why, under the conditions of developed socialism, which is a labor society, things must be organized in such a way that private ownership become totally separated from nonsocialist methods of improving the prosperity of the citizens. We must take into consideration all the channels through which such phenomena penetrate and, having blocked them, ensure the development of high-level socialist social relations, without which one cannot even dream of communism. "Conscientious workers must be thoroughly encouraged," the 26th CPSU Congress emphasized. "Idlers and waste makers should not be left any loophole which will allow them to live well without work. He who wants to live better must work better."

The vital condition which will determine our well-being is not the petit bourgeois demand for equal access to material and spiritual goods regardless of the labor contribution of the individual, but the proletarian requirement of conscientious participation in the common effort and just distribution according to its quantity and quality.

These are some of the results of the transformation of socialism into an organically integral system, which has now been scientifically defined.

"The formulation of the concept of developed socialism is the most important achievement in the field of theory," the 26th congress noted. "On the basis of this concept, the party refined and specified the ways leading to and the time needed for the implementation of our programmatic objectives and defined the strategy and tactics to be applied over a long historical period."

The CC CPSU accountability report, which listed many other positive theoretical results achieved in recent years, also mentioned the unsatisfactory condition of some social science sectors.

Thus, a great deal remains to be done in the area of socialist political economy, making full use of Marx' methodology in the study of economic phenomena and processes. The social prerequisites for and consequences of the scientific and technical revolution, phenomena in sociopolitical life and public opinion have been insufficiently studied. The party's theoretical forces have assumed a tremendous responsibility related to the major problem of party-wide significance of drafting a new CPSU program, as discussed at the 26th congress, a program which must fully reflect the concept of developed socialism.

In a word, a great deal of work lies ahead, which will require new qualitative summations and studies by Soviet social scientists. The concept of developed socialism is one of the promising areas of growth of our social science, which will allow it, by applying the formula of the 26th CPSU Congress, to become the "disturber of the calm," tirelessly fighting conservative trends and thoughtless affectations and generating new and truly fruitful ideas.

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TOPICAL PROBLEMS OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CONTEMPORARY ANTICOMMUNISM AND  
REVISIONISM

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[Article by Jaroslav Kase, editor in chief of NOVA MYSL, theoretical and political journal of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee]

[Text] The intensified attacks launched by anticommunism and revisionism against real socialism are far from an accidental or temporary phenomenon. Real socialism has been chosen as the main target of such attacks, for it is the decisive bulwark of peace and the bearer of the true rights and freedoms of the working people, and because it is firmly supporting national liberation and all progressive forces. It is the main target of attacks above all because it restricts the area of domination of global imperialism and broadens and intensifies the global revolutionary process through its activities and example. "The imperialists and their accomplices," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, "are systematically mounting hostile campaigns against the socialist countries. They are defaming and distorting everything taking place in these countries. Their most important purpose is to turn the people away from socialism." The enemies of socialism particularly fear the possibility that the countries in the national liberation zone, who are seeking a way for further development, may follow the example of the countries of real socialism and begin to learn from their experience. That is why they are comprehensively defaming this experience. The so-called "Eurocommunists" and the members of the Socialist International are also participating in this unseemly anticommunist action.

The peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity are a thorn in the flesh of imperialism. The anticommunists are well aware of the fact that socialism can prove its advantages to the working people the world over most adequately under peaceful conditions. "One unwittingly thinks," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has written, "of how much we could have accomplished and what progress we could have made in social and economic development had we not been hindered and dragged away from peaceful toil and forced to waste substantial efforts and funds on defense because of the arms race."

Imperialist reaction is doing everything possible to depict the Soviet Union as an aggressor threatening the citadels and traditions of "Western democracy and culture." At the same time, through the arms race, it is trying to worsen

the domestic political situation in the socialist countries, their economic development in particular, and thus prevent the implementation of the daring plans and aspirations of real socialism. The purpose of the scarecrow of the imaginary threat to the West on the part of real socialism is to draw attention away from the strategic efforts of imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all, to regain the positions it lost after World War II, to convert to a policy "from a position of strength" and to block revolutionary and progressive changes in the world.

The purpose of the ideological campaign mounted by international reaction is to discredit the truly humane objectives of the policy of the socialist countries. The reactionary forces realize that the peace program is rallying millions of people; it is not a matter of indifference to capitalism as to who will be joined and followed by these masses, whether it is imperialism or real socialism.

The intensifying reactionary attacks on real socialism are a reflection of the steadily intensifying general crisis of capitalism and its aspiration to global domination. However, these attacks hardly prove the strength of bourgeois ideology. On the contrary, they demonstrate its inability to offer its own program for social progress. The more clearly apparent the helplessness of bourgeois theory to develop a scientific "model" of social progress becomes, the more fierce are its efforts to present communism as a historical "error," and to belittle the contribution of real socialism to the solution of the basic problems facing mankind.

Anticommunism is trying to involve in the frontal attack on real socialism all right-wing and "left-wing" revisionists, renegades and turncoats. It does not limit itself to ideological struggle and ideological diversions but is rallying and coordinating attacks on the ideological front with the help of political and economic measures. Anticommunism is coordinating its activities against real socialism within the framework of the entire global capitalist system, as their repeated hostile campaigns confirm, including the notorious one "in defense" of human rights or against the imaginary "Soviet threat." Anticommunism is also trying to coordinate its activities with all groups of so-called "dissidents" in the socialist countries or, rather, to inspire and direct the actions of such groups and to give them moral and material support.

Imperialist reaction is trying to convince the world's public that an internal opposition is developing within the socialist comity, which disagrees with the "Soviet model" of socialism. The purpose of the propaganda of this imaginary discontent is to make the working people in the capitalist countries disgusted with revolution and socialism. On the one hand, its purpose is to dull the class awareness and revolutionary moods in the capitalist countries; on the other, to promote illusions about the possible gradual evolutionary "transformation" of socialism into capitalism.

Historical experience convincingly proves that any underestimation of the actions of the domestic and foreign enemies leads to serious losses and complications. However, it would be equally erroneous to overestimate the influence and significance of anticommunist activities. Dialectical materialism teaches

us to see things as they are. Our dialectics is objective. At each moment in history it takes into consideration the entire set of factors which determine the real ratio of class forces in the world arena and the status of the class and social structure in the socialist countries. To underestimate the class enemy means to overestimate one's own forces with subjectivistic inaccuracy and to be trapped by dangerous illusions. The overestimation of anti-communist and any hostile activity in general is also the result of a subjectivistic erroneous view of political reality, which sees in the class enemy a devil against whom it is virtually impossible to fight.

Under socialism as well, the counterrevolution is a potential danger. This is an objective reality of the development of socialism in a world divided into classes. However, this danger is hardly fatal. The subjective factor determines whether or not the respective objective and subjective prerequisites for counterrevolution can appear. Such prerequisites may appear as a result of the violation of the Leninist principles of the building of socialism and their noncreative application. Anticommunism can complicate the building of socialism. It can slow down and hinder it. In itself, however, it is unable to create a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat and above all to stop the building of socialism. It cannot, as Comrade M. A. Suslov pointed out, "turn the wheel of history back." A counterrevolutionary threat cannot be created merely by the difficulties accompanying the building of socialism. Such difficulties are of two kinds. Some of them are objectively related to the level of development of socialism, while others are triggered primarily by the effect of the subjective factor--the weakening or deformation of the party's leading role in the building of socialism. The difficulties of the first kind do not offer any opportunities for a counterrevolution, whereas those of the second do. The threat to socialism, i.e., the real danger of a counterrevolution, appears when anticommunist activities, including the energizing of the internal enemy, "become organically linked" with severe and longstanding errors committed in building socialism.

The study of the appearance of a counterrevolutionary threat and danger to socialism in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland convincingly proves precisely the existence of such an "organic link" between the activities of the domestic and foreign enemy and the serious economic, political and ideological blunders, the underestimation of the class enemy and the weakening of ideological vigilance in those countries. The high cost of the experience which we gained, therefore, demands of us today, when anticommunism is tirelessly attempting to break down socialism through economic, political and ideological measures and to violate the unity and cooperation among socialist countries, that we make a sober assessment of the class enemy and effectively struggle against all manifestations of opportunism and revisionism and the noncreative application of Marxism-Leninism. This struggle is inseparable from the efforts to upgrade the leading role of the communist party in society and to strengthen its ties with the toiling masses.

We frequently hear that the activeness of the counterrevolution can be explained merely in terms of insufficient ideological vigilance. However, this is a limited view of the problem. In order to exert a preventive influence on the counterrevolution, to block it and to prevent its energizing, we must combine theory with practice and rely on theory in resolving the practical

problems of developing the socialist society. Unless ripe problems, particularly in the field of economics, are promptly and consistently resolved, the prestige of the socialist policy is eroded and the social base of our political system is weakened. This is immediately seized upon by the antisocialist demagogues and counterrevolutionary elements. In turn, we must pay attention to the study of the methods, forms and content of contemporary anticommunism, which is persistently "modernizing" its tactics, adapting them to the changing circumstances. However, the main objectives which determine the content of its entire activities remain the same.

Anticommunism has always tried to discredit real socialism, to belittle its role in the solution of basic problems of global development and to weaken its attractiveness to the working class and the toiling masses in the capitalist countries, on the one hand, and to idealize the capitalist West, on the other. It refuses real socialism the right to have a future because of its allegedly erroneous philosophical and economic foundations. According to the anticommunist ideologues, real socialism is based on the collectivistic idea of man, which is allegedly unrealistic, utopian and unpromising, and on an erroneous economic policy, which lacks internal dynamics and is unable to defeat the so-called "free world" in the historical competition for higher labor productivity and to stimulate the labor and political activeness of the people.

At the same time, anticommunism idealizes the values of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, in which it is greatly assisted by opportunism and revisionism. This propaganda is combined with systematic attacks on the socialist values and is openly targeted at the lessons provided by Great October Socialist Revolution.

Naturally, today the blatant idealizing of bourgeois society has been given second priority in the propaganda beamed at socialist and developing countries. Unquestionably, this was influenced by the fact that it is becoming ever more difficult to idealize the capitalist West against the background of its deepening crisis, which is characterized not only by the growth of unemployment, inflation and underutilization of productive capacity but by the growth of crime, drug addiction and feelings of doom and loss of hope for the future, particularly among young people. In discussing the problems of the so-called "free world" today, the bourgeois propagandists and politicians claim that all of these are petty and individual matter which are incomparably smaller in comparison with the problems and difficulties facing the socialist countries. Whereas in the first case it is allegedly a matter of problems of an "open" society with a future, in the second the alleged lack of future of real socialism is emphasized.

Naturally, anticommunism is engaged in historical forgery. Essentially, it is not objective. However, it cannot act differently, for it represents mainly the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie, of a class without a future, a class which refuses to see the world as it is, for it exhausted its historical role long ago and is hindering social progress today, although it still retains possibilities for economic development. In his preface to his "Critique of Political Economy," K. Marx wrote that the socialist revolution takes place only when production forces no longer have any scope for development. The capitalist economy still retains a certain, although narrowing, space in which to maneuver. This economic bridgehead nurtures bourgeois ideology and attacks on real socialism.



As we pointed out, anticommunism is trying mainly to exploit the shortcomings of our social system. All negative phenomena, be they in economics, politics, morality, culture or relations among people, are presented as phenomena intrinsically inherent in the socialist social system. Socialism is also blamed for personal difficulties and the unrealized dreams and wishes of individuals. According to anticommunist logic, such phenomena can only be eliminated on the basis of a radical reorganization of society, only by a change in the social system. True, anticommunism today does not openly and frankly call for the restoration of capitalism. It does not frontally attack the public ownership of productive capital but is promoting the idea of a "marketplace economy" and bourgeois views on freedom and democracy.

Whereas in the first half of the 1970's anticommunism concentrated its attacks on real socialism mainly on matters of democracy and "defense" of human rights, currently the center of gravity has been shifted to economic activities. The economic system of real socialism is described as being directive-bureaucratic and absolutely rigid, unable to react to the needs of consumers and producers. The anticommunist ideologues are spreading claims that in the socialist countries living standards are declining and inflation is rising. They are inflating shortcomings which we ourselves are criticizing, in the area of trade, for example, and claim that the necessary living standard is achieved at a tremendous cost and the stress of all physical and particularly mental forces of the people.

Anticommunism presents shortcomings in economic development and arising problems, including difficulties in marketing goods internationally and technological backwardness, as being the result of the system of planned economic management. Allegedly, leading positions in the socialist countries are filled not as a result of a discussion of the professional and moral qualities of the people but exclusively on the basis of ideological considerations, pull, and string pulling. Unresolved economic problems are inflated and presented as manifestations of the economic crisis of real socialism, the intensification of which is substantially contributing to the involvement of such countries in international cooperation within CEMA and the subordination of the national economies to the needs of the Soviet Union.

The ideologues of anticommunism are trying to convince the world above all of the fact that the reasons for economic difficulties in the countries of real socialism are rooted in socialism itself and in its use of the "Soviet model." They favor the making of reforms in the socialist countries, as a result of which they would abandon planning based on democratic centralism and open possibilities of the spontaneous effect of the law of value. It is precisely in this direction that the anticommunists are pursuing a differentiated policy and propaganda. Thus, they set as an example Hungarian economic policy, which they contrast with Czechoslovakia, and so on. They try to promote clashes between the policies of individual countries and political leaders within the socialist comity. Some of them are described as being realistic and pragmatic and understanding the inevitability of reform; others are accused of ideological dogmatism whose sole demand is the need to strengthen labor discipline.

Initially, the revisionist concepts emphasized the technocratic management of the national economy. Toward the end of the 1970's, however, they yielded their position to anarcho-syndicalism to a certain extent. This is a natural shift in anticommunist and revisionist tactics. The point is that technocratic concepts are inconsistent with the profound crisis experienced by the global capitalist economy. They are more suitable during periods of animation of economic circumstances. The strategists of global imperialism have reached the conclusion that it is easier to undermine the foundations of socialism "from below" rather than "from above," for which purpose anarcho-syndicalism is better suited compared with technocracy.

Anticommunism does not have a general line of behavior regarding economic relations between the West and the countries of real socialism. One part of the bourgeoisie favors such relations on the assumption that they are contributing to the "infiltration" of capitalist elements in the socialist world and thus are destabilizing the socialist economy and policies. Another bourgeois segment would like to isolate the socialist economy from the rest of the world in order to slow down or even to make its development substantially more difficult. Most frequent is the combination of these two variants. In all cases, however, the bourgeois strategists are concerned with assigning the capitalist economy a leading role in such relations. The enemy is greatly displeased by our efforts to intensify the political, the Leninist approach to the broadening of foreign economic relations with the developed capitalist countries. It is no accident that Western propaganda beamed at Czechoslovakia is maliciously quoting Comrade V. Biljak to the effect that being indebted to the capitalist West is the same as for a Christian to sell his soul to the devil.

The imperialist leaders are totally opposed to the establishment of a new international economic order, particularly in terms of the developing countries. This was eloquently confirmed at the conference which was held in Cancun last October. The capitalists are encouraging the socialist states to assist the developing countries in ways which we deem unfair and, therefore, unacceptable. The imperialists are attacking the principle of the differentiated approach taken by the socialist countries in assisting the young countries in order to compromise real socialism in the national liberation movement zone and thus to weaken its influence over this important segment of the global revolutionary process. They are trying to keep as long as possible the largest possible number of such countries under their economic and political influence or, at worst, even as a politically neutral force. This is the reason for their hatred of socialist Cuba and the growth of its prestige in the nonaffiliated movement.

Their attitude toward the social policy of the communist parties of the socialist countries, which is aimed at enhancing the living standard of the working people, is extremely hypocritical but quite instructive from the political viewpoint.

It is of interest to see the way modern anticommunism is distorting the problems of real socialism in the area of the class and social structure. The enemies of socialism have a twin purpose: first, to weaken the social base of socialist democracy and thus to disturb the unity between the party and

the toiling people, to isolate the working class from the alliance of working people, and to paralyze the active attitude of the working people toward the socialist system; second, using a refined demagogy, to develop as much political indifference as possible among the broadest possible population strata, win them over to the bourgeois way of life and, in the final account, encourage them to assume antisocialist positions.

A characteristic feature of the 1960's was the priority which was given to the role of the humanities and technical intelligentsia. The working class under socialism was depicted as an element which was unable to resolve the constructive problems facing society. Actually, even then the anticommunists left this "delicate" project to the revisionists, as they were unwilling to present themselves as the overt enemies of the working class. They even began to show a hypocritical "concern" for the working people in the socialist countries. In the 1970's, however, the anticommunists began to sing the praises of the working class with increasing frequency, artificially reviving various Lassalian theories and promoting contemporary refined forms of anarcho-syndicalism.

Thus, the tactic of open resistance to the socialist system was adopted in Hungary in 1956; the tactic of the "Trojan horse" was chosen for Czechoslovakia, which called for breaking down the party and thus breaking down the socialist society from above. The tactic of separating the political system from its social base was chosen for Poland.

Whereas in the 1960's the counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia anathemized, so to speak, the Leninist principle of the alliance between workers and peasants, the counterrevolution in Poland "resurrected" it for antisocialist purposes, by coordinating the actions of the so-called Solidarity movement in town and country. Whereas the right-wing revisionists always considered the peasant masses a politically inert element, the counterrevolution in Poland restored and updated the practice followed by Louis Bonaparte in 1851. The intelligentsia was assigned to give questionable service to the even more questionable "alliance" between workers and peasants with a view to creating an opposition to the communist party.

The anticommunists virtually ignore the class structure of the socialist countries in their propaganda. However, they try to create the false idea according to which the socialist revolution and the building of socialism have gradually become alien to the majority of the people, that the political system is above the people and even against them and that the socialist revolution has betrayed the people, which makes a new revolution or several revolutionary waves necessary. The contemporary counterrevolution thoughtlessly distorts Marx' idea of the permanent nature of the revolution, as found in his works "The Class Struggle in France from 1848 to 1850" and "Louis Bonaparte's 18th Brumaire" in pursuit of its dirty objectives. Actually, its tactics toward our society have a class direction as is eloquently seen by the study of the broadcasts of Western radio stations beamed at the individual countries of real socialism.

For example, anticommunist propaganda is dead silent on the subject of the inordinately fruitful initiative shown by the CPSU in relation to the drafting and adoption of the new Soviet Constitution--the part dealing with socialist

legislation and the enhanced activeness of the working people in the Soviet Union. The purpose of this silence is to conceal from the people in its own countries the attractive and inspiring example of the profound and steadily growing unity between the Soviet political system and the working people. Anticommunist propaganda is trying to discredit our political system as well, which, in their view, is inconsistent with Czechoslovak democratic traditions. Closely related to this is the misrepresentation of the history of the communist parties in the socialist countries. The anticommunists claim that today's main shortcomings of real socialism and its "permanent crisis" are found in the very nature of Leninism and the fact that, starting with the Great October Socialist Revolution, Leninism has embodied a Soviet-type "totalitarian dictatorship." Some traitors to the cause of the workers movement, Zdenek Mlynarz, for example, have gone so far as to seek the roots of the shortcomings of real socialism within Marx' doctrine itself.

In falsifying history, on the one hand, the anticommunists are attacking the leaders of the communist and workers parties; on the other, they are praising the representatives of the bourgeoisie. It is this kind of distorted picture that they are offering to today's youth in order to disorient them politically and draw their attention away from the communist party and thus prepare them to accept bourgeois values and traditions which are presented to them through rather refined methods. Our ideological opponents are interpreting the history of the communist parties of the socialist countries as a history unfamiliar with freedom and humanism. This type of treatment is applied to the history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its former and present leaders. By defaming the historical traditions of the communist parties they try to convince the broad public of the fact that these parties are increasingly losing their moral and legitimate right to lead the people and to be the bearers of truly revolutionary and progressive traditions. The purpose of the falsification of history is to promote misunderstandings and a separation between the party and the people.

The anticommunists try to discredit above all the Soviet experience in building socialism. They claim that V. I. Lenin rejected Engels' idea of building a socialist society as a democratic republic of a parliamentary type, thus deliberately rejecting the European traditions and exposing the labor movement to the danger of "totalitarianism," which had deep roots in the history of czarist Russia. Whereas the anticommunists are openly attacking Lenin's doctrine of socialism, the revisionists are resurrecting the theory of the notorious "third way," promoted by the so-called "Eurocommunists." In his 28 December 1981 speech on Radio Rome, D. Napolitano said that the inspiring example, which the Great October Socialist Revolution gave to the socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all, had exhausted its possibilities today, in his view. The position taken by the leadership of the Italian Communist Party toward the rich and irreplaceable Soviet experience in building socialism is truly regrettable. An editorial in KOMMUNIST, the CC CPSU theoretical and political journal, states that "the documents issued by the leadership of the Italian Communist Party are repeating yet another worn-out claim regarding our party, according to which the CPSU is imposing on others its own "model" of socialism.

The CPSU firmly rejects this thesis and the very concept of such "models." There is no Soviet "model." There is a Soviet experience which contains, as the communist movement believes, features of general significance and features which are nationally specific. It is also no accident that the position taken by the leadership of the Italian Communist Party and by E. Berlinguer himself, was welcomed not only by the leaders of the Socialist International but by anticommunists of all sorts.

Contemporary anticommunism is working hard to "instill" pluralism within the socialist political system, in order to weaken seriously, if not to compromise, the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. The anticommunists have developed a peculiar tactic: defaming the party in its leading role in the eyes of the broad public by using a crisis which may break out in one socialist country or another, and thus depriving it in the eyes of the people of the moral and subsequently the legitimate right to lead the socialist society. Their objective is to remove the party from its leadership of the political system and to include it in the so-called infrastructure, or else, if the party retains its right to lead society, to deprive its activities of their Leninist content and purposefulness. The anticommunists would like to see to it that as a result of the intraparty struggle the communist party abandon the Leninist platform on matters of party membership, organizational structure and ideological orientation and become an ordinary political party of the petty bourgeois type, thus personally contributing to the restoration of capitalism. This is also the purpose of the claim that the communist party is no longer the organization of the working class, that it is divided into party bureaucracy and the passive mass of the rank-and-file membership, etc.

Particularly in connection with the Polish events, the anticommunists are trying to blame the party for all the failures of socialism and to depict it as being the main perpetrator of all crises and shortcomings. Under such circumstances, the abolishment of the party's leading role is depicted as the decisive prerequisite for positive social development. It is "recommended" that we adopt a multiparty system as allegedly being the only system capable of ensuring the true blossoming of democracy. This is also being emphasized by the well-known West German anticommunist ideologue Fetscher, who writes that a democratic political system can be achieved only by legalizing the right to have an opposition. A relatively new feature in the anticommunist attacks on real socialism is the fact that an infinite number of political parties is no longer suggested but rather an "optimal" number of parties consistent with the situation in one socialist country or another. Such "advice" is a specific reflection of the crisis in contemporary bourgeois democracy, concealed behind attempts to present itself as a friend of socialism and to pretend that it is not in the least a question of any radical opposition which would favor the full restoration of presocialist social relations. For example, the extremist members of Solidarity in Poland claimed for a long time that they were allegedly not even thinking of the seizure of political power. Even the sworn enemies of our system claim that it would not be a question of changing the social system but merely of submitting to the government initiatives and suggestions within the framework of the existing system. Many such claims could be cited. The fact is, however, that the appeal to legalize the opposition is aimed at helping to create conditions for abolishing the party's leading role. Therefore, the direct or indirect assertion is that the communist party is incapable of leading society successfully and democratically by itself.

Modern anticommunism does not shy from any means in its attacks on the socialist state. It has set no limits to vulgarizing its nature and distorting its real practice. Today antistatism is uniting anticommunists and revisionists in their attacks on the state of real socialism. Our enemies absolutize above all the function of the system in the socialist state. They tirelessly claim that it is a tool, so to speak, of an uncontrolled "totalitarian dictatorship." They are repeating the sallies of K. Kautskiy against the Soviet state in endless variations. They frequently refer to Lenin as well, citing out of context his statement on the dictatorship of the proletariat found in his integral doctrine on the socialist state. They do this deliberately, with a view to distorting the nature and mission of the socialist state, ignoring Lenin's thought that "the essence of proletarian dictatorship is not simply and mainly coercion" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 38, p 385). They deliberately ignore the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat merely rejected obsolete bourgeois laws and norms which protected the exploiters and harmed the working people and that the socialist state is strictly watching over the observance of socialist legality. The anticommunists deliberately ignore one of the basic ideas contained in the new Soviet Constitution on the subordination of the executive organs of the state to its legislative organs. For example, they conceal the fact that the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly ascribes particular importance to the active participation of the deputies in legislative activities and in controlling the observance of laws not only by political institutions but equally by public organizations and private citizens. They ignore the fact that the 26th CPSU Congress particularly emphasized the need to improve Soviet legislation further in three parallel directions: national economic management, exercise of the constitutional rights of the citizens and public organizations and completion of the publication of an all-union code of laws.

In addition to the energizing of anarcho-syndicalism, the anticommunists are very hopeful on the subject of the public organizations. Whereas the 1960's were characterized by underestimating them, which was consistent with the then adopted tactic of breaking down the socialist system from the top, today, as the events in Poland have indicated, they are greatly interested in them. The anticommunists are trying to penetrate these organizations, to pit them against the party and the state, to energize their antisocialist activities and thus to undermine the foundations of the socialist social system. The changes in the subversive and counterrevolutionary activities of the anticommunists are manifested also in the fact that whereas in the 1960's the anticommunist forces in Czechoslovakia were emphasizing the "defense" of the individual interests of separate social groups, in the 1970's-1980's, in Poland they are calling for the "defense" of the rights of the working people, of the entire nation, which are allegedly threatened by the "bureaucratic state." The anticommunists and the revisionists are doing everything possible to separate economics from politics. This is done under the pretext that the policy of the socialist state hinders economic development. Allegedly, the dynamism of the national economy can be restored only if economics is independent of politics, above all of a policy based on the principles of democratic centralism and socialist internationalism.

The anticommunist claim of an allegedly growing Bonapartism in the countries of real socialism developed as a new phenomenon, particularly after 13 December

1981. They are falsely claiming that the "groundlessness" of the communist parties, particularly in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, legitimately leads to the increased role of the army, which is assigned to suppress the discontent of the toiling people who are objecting to the economic policies of the party and the state. In this case, the very interpretation of Bonapartism is historically and logically wrong. Marx described Bonapartism as a specific historical product of the development of the bourgeoisie, which was still insufficiently strong to protect its rule from the revolutionary working class, for which reason it allied itself with the reactionary military. Although the Polish People's Army has been assigned a difficult political task, the emergency powers granted to it are temporary. As Comrade W. Jaruzelski stated on 13 December 1981, even under the conditions of martial law the activities of the constitutional organs and institutions remain unchanged and so does the political line of the party and the socialist state. During the Bonapartist coup d'etat of December 1851, the army in France was used to force the total abolition of the parliamentary system.

In anticommunist propaganda, real socialism is quite frequently held in contrast against communist ideals. As in the past, although less frequently, the claim is made that real socialism is quite different from the views held by Marx and Engels about socialism, for which reason it is not "true" socialism. Today it is more frequently claimed that real socialism has proved its inability to embody the communist ideal and to build the most just classless communist society, thus denying the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Right-wing revisionism uses the social democratic concept of so-called democratic socialism, thus rejecting the Marxist-Leninist principles of the building of socialism. Our enemies are particularly violently rejecting the class nature of the ownership of productive capital and proletarian internationalism. They are exaggerating the importance of national characteristics, thereby excluding the use of the general Marxist-Leninist principles governing the building of socialism.

Of late anticommunists, renegades and various "dissidents" have subjected to malicious attacks publications and statements by politicians referring to objective dialectics and the laws of development of real socialism, claiming that it is a question of the materialistic version of objective idealism serving communist "totalitarianism." They are maliciously slandering and denying the objective nature of the general laws governing the building of socialism. This proves the tremendous responsibility which we bear for the creative development and application of the general laws of socialism and the thorough study of each subsequent stage in the building and development of socialism.

It may appear on the surface as though the spiritual realm of real socialism has been ignored by our opponents. This impression is heightened by the fact that of late anticommunist economic propaganda has become noticeably energized. So-called sociological and factorial propaganda has reached unparalleled strength. In order to give some plausibility to its slander of real socialism, anticommunism is making active use of critical remarks which appear in our mass information media. However, references to such sources do not hinder in the least its gross distortion of our reality.

Propaganda of the bourgeois, American in particular, way of life through motion pictures, television and some musical genres or, briefly stated, methods which can influence their audiences through their visual and emotional impact and which promote some stereotypes of education and behavior inherent in the bourgeois way of life, has increased considerably. The recent energizing of clerical anticommunism as well confirms that in the contemporary world divided into classes we cannot ignore the areas in which the church is active and the influence of religious ideology is manifested. Political clericalism is adapting the Christian doctrine to the changing world. Hiding behind the so-called common problems of mankind--the struggle for the elimination of want and for the establishment of social justice--they are trying to influence the shaping of the human outlook and way of life. As we can see, the struggle for the masses is quite intensive in the area of the spiritual life of society as well.

Experience proves that anticommunism is concentrating its attacks on the revolutionary nucleus of Marxism-Leninism, on the range of problems which are becoming a part of the theory and practice of building developed socialism. They are questioning the main criteria of developed socialism and its basic values. The main distinction between the revisionists and the anti-communists is that, whereas formally supporting socialism, in practice the revisionists join the anticommunists in rejecting the basic criteria and values of real socialism and in the adoption of an anti-Soviet platform. Unlike the frenzied anticommunists, the revisionists fabricate various "models" of socialism, which are merely variants of petit bourgeois socialism. However, petit bourgeois democracy, wherever capitalism still rules, virtually never exceeds its boundaries. Under socialist conditions the energizing of petit bourgeois democracy creates political grounds for a gradually prepared restoration of capitalism. The nature of opportunism, Lenin wrote, is such that it "always avoids a clear and uncontroversial formulation of the problem, looks for equivalencies, wiggles among mutually exclusive viewpoints, in an effort "to agree" with both, reducing its differences to minor corrections, doubts and pious and innocent wishes..." (ibid, Vol 8, p 393). The ideal of the petite bourgeoisie and its shifting between capitalism and socialism, which in decisive situations pours grist on the mill of the counterrevolution, is embodied in the so-called "models" of socialism, the so-called "third way," which represents the overt or covert denial of real socialism.

The building of real socialism does not take place in a hothouse, or under conditions established once and for all. Both external and international as well as internal conditions change. The building of real socialism is, in the full meaning of the term, "expanded reproduction." New problems are resolved and new objectives are set. In formulating the directions followed in the development of real socialism, therefore, both domestic and foreign factors must be taken into consideration.

Historical experience has shown that some countries have not always been able to find the optimal variant for the development of real socialism. They have not always weighed profoundly, in a Leninist fashion, all domestic and foreign circumstances. An incorrect development variant has subsequently let itself be felt through the outbreak of crisis situations and the threat of counter-revolution. Therefore, the dialectics of domestic and foreign conditions



governing the building of real socialism and the process of influencing the main contradiction of the contemporary epoch of building socialism must be studied entirely in accordance with historical experience. The study of the possibilities of anticommunism to benefit from the shortcomings and difficulties of the building of socialism is equally important.

The study of crisis situations in some socialist countries may lead to certain conclusions which, naturally, do not lay a claim to being complete and comprehensive. Let us note above all that the ways of development of real socialism at specific stages in the life of these countries were by far not optimal, that the level of development reached was overestimated, that some shortcomings were underestimated or exaggerated, that a trend toward practicalism predominated, that grandomania was manifested and that the unity among economics, politics and ideology was violated. Inconsistency in the struggle against opportunism, liberalism and tolerance of the enemies of socialism was almost organically bound to these negative phenomena. This resulted in a weakening of the leading role of the communist party. The Leninist principles of its activities were violated, particularly that of collective leadership. The party's ideological and organizational unity and its unity of action were weakened. All of this undermined the ability of the party to engage in active efforts. The party found itself alienated from the masses and its leadership from the primary organizations. Therefore, these phenomena could be considered both causes and consequences of the violation of the Marxist-Leninist way, the way of building real socialism. They were interdependent and closely interrelated. The entire history of the revolution and the building of socialism offer a number of examples that it is impossible to build real socialism successfully and to develop it further by adopting a passive attitude in the struggle against ideological and political opponents. Conversely, no effective struggle can be waged against such opponents if the solution of ripe problems of the building and development of socialism is postponed or inconsistent, or else if it represents a deviation from Marxism-Leninism. The theory of scientific socialism, which offers a profound study of the realities and trends of the social process, is the basis for effective ideological struggle against anticommunism and revisionism, a basis for effective ideological and educational work.

Today it is a question of a more profound study of the dialectics of production forces and production relations, the study of contradictions which develop in the socialist society, the means to surmount them, the search for ways to enhance further the effectiveness and quality of all work on the basis of the comprehensive utilization of the objective advantages of the socialist system and the study of the dialectical interaction between the base and the superstructure of society and between the state and the economy. A more profound study must be made of matters related to the development of a socialist way of life, socialist social consciousness, the molding of the individual and the unity of rights, freedoms and obligations of the citizen of the socialist society.

Our opponents know perfectly well that some gaps in the theoretical Marxist-Leninist development of such problems inevitably create difficulties. In mounting their general offensive against Marxism-Leninism, they try to

exaggerate these difficulties and to present them as the natural result of real socialism. That is why its successful development, including the effective struggle against ideological opponents, is possible only with the creative enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory, its consistent application and the systematic ideological-political education of the population. "...A person armed with Marxism-Leninism, profoundly loyal to socialism and convinced of its rightness," Comrade G. Husak said at the 16th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress, "does not retreat in the face of difficulties. He does not lose his confidence even in most complex situations and does not fear to commit himself to the struggle for the implementation of the socialist ideals."

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## CONCLUDING SPEECH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 82 pp 81-86

[Article by Academician Zdenek Snitil, director of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism]

[Text] We can confidently say that the entire course of the conference--the main reports and the accompanying reports, most of which were presented as scientific communications, confirmed the expediency of convening it. The materials of the conference, which was distinguished by the comprehensiveness of the considered problems, summed up some results of scientific work and included constructive suggestions on further lines of research.

The conference on developed socialism, which took place on an interdisciplinary basis, was the first of its kind in Czechoslovakia. For the first time representatives of different scientific disciplines--political economy, philosophy, sociology, history, scientific communism and others--met around the same table to consult one another and exchange experience in studying problems of socialist development. Unquestionably, this is a noteworthy circumstance, for it reflects something entirely new in our efforts and proves the unquestionable improvement in the level of our work. At the same time, this naturally affected the work of the conference and was manifested in the different approaches, viewpoints and so on. This proves that this type of collective method has not been entirely mastered as yet in scientific research. However, we believe that the experience we have gained will not be wasted. It is a valuable experience which we shall increase in the future.

We approached the discussion of problems of developed socialism by thoroughly analyzing the reality surrounding us. We approached their discussion by taking into consideration the complex international and domestic conditions which the socialist comity as a whole and the individual socialist countries must face. Our work meeting was imbued with the awareness that world socialism is experiencing a difficult but creative period of growth, which is reflected in the activities of the fraternal communist and workers parties. I would say that this is a period of great search which is absolutely necessary in order to resolve major problems, which will greatly determine the further development of socialism. It was repeatedly stressed at the conference that the 26th congress of the Soviet communists, the 16th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress and the congresses of the other fraternal parties have made a considerable contribution to the formulation of a number of

theoretical problems and the solution of most important economic, political and ideological-educational problems of the further development of socialism. We were fully justified in noting the particular importance of the 26th CPSU Congress and the vanguard role of the CPSU, a party with a most extensive and richest possible experience in building the new society.

The work of the conference leads to another conclusion. Its participants repeatedly stated that despite all difficulties and complications which arose at the beginning of the 1980's in the international arena, real socialism is confidently proving its superiority over capitalism and its viability, attractiveness and potential, which are becoming increasingly clearer and fuller in the course of building a developed socialist society. Real socialism, embodied in the present reality of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other countries, has passed the test in the class confrontation of ideologies and ways of life. It is firmly repelling the attacks mounted by anticommunism, anti-Sovietism, revisionism and reformism, and through its innovative example is indicating the path to be followed by the global revolutionary and all other progressive movements.

I would like to emphasize the permanent relevance of the document Lessons from the Crisis Development in the Czechoslovak Communist Party and Society After the 13th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress, not only in relation to the events in the People's Republic of Poland, which were also discussed at our conference. I would like to point mainly its long-term nature and significance in terms of our present and future work. The theoretical elaboration of a number of problems raised in this document--revolutions and counter-revolutions, the international role of Leninism and the Leninist plan for the building of socialism--as well as the theoretical elaboration of a number of problems discussed at the conference such as, for example, improving the political system and the activities of the mass organizations within the National Front and, in this connection, the development of an even more scientific criticism of the "latest" popular revisionist and other falsifications of real socialism, are among the permanent and primary tasks facing our entire theoretical front.

Turning to the "Lessons from the Crisis Development..." and comparing, although most generally, our experience with the events in the People's Republic of Poland, it is important to see not only the characteristics, the specific features which distinguish current events in Poland from the familiar events in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, but the common features which accompany the offensive of the counterrevolution, which lead to the appearance of a crisis situation, etc. I believe that on the basis of the study of the past, our theoretical front should submit to the party and state leadership more qualified recommendations for the solution of specific problems, and more analytical conclusions which objectively and accurately assess the real state of affairs in all fields of life of our socialist society, in the realm of social consciousness in particular.

Our meeting convincingly proved that the building of a developed socialist society is a historically necessary stage which is obviously longer than was presumed only recently, that it is a dynamic process in the course of which the growing maturity of the economic, sociopolitical and spiritual areas of life creates optimal conditions for the all-round and harmonious development

of the individual. At the same time, some of the expressed formulations and viewpoints on this matter are obviously controversial. Frequently, this applies merely to the formulation of the problem, to the very first attempt at its theoretical and methodological substantiation. Naturally, this is no trouble. We have always favored creative discussions. I believe that even when we are unable to study social phenomena in depth and to master completely all the difficult management processes, the theoretical formulation of problems created by objective practical experience is an unquestionable achievement in our work and represents the reaching of a certain level of scientific knowledge. It was precisely such a formulation of questions which opened the way to further knowledge that we encountered in the course of our conference.

As was repeatedly emphasized at the conference, the creative interpretation of problems of Marxist-Leninist theory must rest on a single methodological and theoretical foundation. It must proceed from the acknowledgment of the fact that the developed socialist society is a natural stage in the framework of the first phase of the communist system. This stage is characterized by the high and dynamically growing maturity of socialism as a whole as a social system and the full implementation of its objective laws and advantages and the solution of the problems directly related to the building of the higher phase--communism. In this connection, it was pointed out at our conference that the systematic and conscious utilization of the laws of the present stage, the most important of which is the increased leading role of the communist party, is a prerequisite for successful progress along this revolutionary way. It is a question of the increased leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, whose program and all activities are aimed at enabling the working class to carry out its historical mission. It is a question of the communist party, which is leading the working class and all working people on the path of social progress, the path of creative search and revolutionary reorganization of the entire society. History has already presented us with convincing proof that the working class and the toiling people can overthrow the bourgeois rule, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and lay the foundations of socialism only under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist party. On the basis of previous experience, we can claim with full justification that today as well the building of developed socialism and progress toward communism are impossible without the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. Obviously, all of us are united in the belief that problems related to the implementation of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, the enhancement of this role in society, the functions performed by the party and problems of intraparty life and its influence on all social life--the entire range of problems which were discussed here and on whose subject interesting suggestions were made--must be the focal point of research conducted by our social scientists, particularly those working in the scientific party institutions.

In studying the problems of party construction and other matters of social development, it is necessary, as the comrades who spoke indicated, always to turn to the outstanding documents of the communist movement, particularly to the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics. We are still far from having exhausted the tremendous creative wealth of Marxist-Leninist ideas in the process of building and developing socialism in our country. We must always be concerned with the comprehensive firm mastery of basic Marxist-Leninist

works. This will intensify our approach to the study of social phenomena. We must tirelessly demand that the serious and thorough study of sociopolitical problems always be based on the good and firm knowledge of the works of the Marxist-Leninist classics. Unfortunately, there still are a number of weak spots in this area.

Contemporary developments entirely confirm the familiar Leninist prediction that the transition from capitalism to socialism on a universal scale will involve the lengthy and uncompromising struggle between the two opposite social systems, that social progress will be achieved not automatically but as a result of the confrontation between social forces and that the development of the revolutionary process will not be easy or smooth but will follow unusually complex and difficult paths along which temporary defeats, failures or retreats may be possible. The impression is sometimes created that the difficulties which have appeared of late in the socialist countries, the Polish events in particular, have made some of our social scientists depressed or may even have led to a loss of the feeling of revolutionary optimism or that these people have begun to question the prospects of real socialism. Such feelings must be firmly surmounted. We must see to it that the social scientists are properly guided in complex contemporary life. They must be able to determine to whom the future belongs in the strange interweaving of phenomena and events, what is a legitimate trend and what determines future developments to one extent or another. The extensive experience we have gained convincingly proves that the establishment of global socialism should not be conceived simplistically, as straight progress, nor should we believe that always, every year and at each stage it should be a question only of steady progress along an ascending line. We know quite well, and historians could say a great deal on this subject, that actual social progress has never been simple and steady. On the contrary, it has always been infinitely rich in form, has rarely followed a straight line, and far more frequently it has looked like an unimaginable zigzag, as a process accompanied by twists, compromises, withdrawals, and even temporary defeats, but which, in the final account, has been successful, as Lenin pointed out repeatedly. We believe that the same approach should be adopted in addressing the problems of present and future real socialism, which is the only true way leading to the implementation of the vital interests of the people's masses and the nations and nationalities on all continents. This is truly the only real way, despite the fact that the development of socialism itself on its own basis is sometimes paralleled by the animation of some phenomena alien to its nature, as was repeatedly emphasized at the conference. However, it would be excessively simplistic and speculative to formulate theoretical conclusions on developed socialism and its building only on the basis of periods which seem relatively calm, when things are clearly going well, and when objectives are being obtained. We believe that in this respect as well the conference provided an impetus for further studies.

We do not overestimate the possibilities of theory and we know that the battlefield where the question of the present and the future of real socialism is decided is social practice. However, we want to use the possibilities of theory to a maximal extent. We would like to contribute as much as possible to the development of the contemporary revolutionary period in the history of civilization. We are entirely aware of the relevance of Lenin's ideas

on the unity of theory and practice, which were expressed 80 years ago in his work "What Is To Be Done?" We sincerely wish for Marxist-Leninist theory to continue to fulfill successfully its role as a powerful transforming force which leads to knowledge, provides guidelines and directs and mobilizes accelerated social progress. We want it to be a direct component of daily management work in all areas and at all levels and the ideological foundation of the daily life of our people, of every party member above all, and an inseparable feature of his way of life.

From this point of view, taking into consideration such criteria and wishes, we could say that a number of interesting reports and remarks on all problems under discussion were submitted at the conference. I refer to the communication on the role of international relations in the development of socialism in Czechoslovakia and the communication on problems of contemporary economic growth, intensification in particular. Also interesting were some reports on the party's social policy, changes in the social and class structures, the rapprochement among our peoples and nationalities, and improvements in the political system. We are pleased that in addition to the question of the leading role of the party discussed at the conference, as we mentioned, discussions also covered problems of the education of the new man, the cultural revolution and the socialist way of life.

I do not give myself the right to assess the level of some communications or to determine their usefulness in terms of social practice. I believe that this would be impossible and, above all, inaccurate and inexpedient. It is obvious, however, that the level reached in the theoretical elaboration of individual problems of the building and development of socialism varies greatly. The reasons for the fact that some problems are resolved faster and better than others should not be discussed at this meeting but should be the topic of a separate discussion. However, we can already draw the conclusion that we must undertake the profound elaboration of some problems, particularly those on which the party's attention is focused, more daringly, with greater initiative, firmness and aggressiveness. The congress' decisions were repeatedly mentioned at the conference, those passed not only by the 16th but by other Communist Party of Czechoslovakia congresses as well. It was justifiably pointed out that the line earmarked at the 14th congress and concretized in the 15th and 16th CPCZ Congresses, represents essentially the general line in building developed socialism in Czechoslovakia. Rather impressive excerpts from the proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress and the congresses of other fraternal parties were read at our meeting. Very specific assignments were formulated, and so on.

It seems to me that descriptiveness remains the dominant feature in the discussion of many problems. We heard quite frequently descriptions of the situation in one place or another, how one thing or another is being done or, at best, how it should be done. Far less frequently were the reasons for phenomena described and, mainly, the ways and means to be selected for implementing everything in accordance with the decision of our 16th congress. Problems which exist in some areas of our lives must be more boldly discussed at party meetings. Naturally, a more daring approach must always be based on firm knowledge, good scientific research and, in general, conscientious work and thorough study of problems.

Taking present requirements under consideration and assumptions regarding the possible development of events in the first half of the 1980's, we must undertake more energetically and profoundly the study of the problems discussed and pursue this line even further. I believe that the problem of training the working class so that it can implement its leading role to the fullest extent requires further theoretical elaboration. The problem of improving the quality of life, the solution of which is stipulated in the documents of the 16th CPCZ Congress, must be subjected to more profound and comprehensive studies. This problem is very topical, for it applies to upgrading the quality of life and establishing the type of structure of requirements of our people in the period of building developed socialism and the interrelationship between the solution of this problem and the molding of a socialist way of life. A number of specific questions arise also in connection with improvements in the political system. There are topical problems of rapprochement between our peoples and nationalities, including the familiar problem of equalization, not only within Czechoslovakia but on a broader scale--within the framework of the socialist comity. In order to meet the requirements of the present and the future, we must undertake the further development of culture, increase the sociopolitical, economic and spiritual activity of the working class and the working people at the present stage of development of socialism, and so on. Frankly speaking, the leadership of the party and the state would be grateful if we could achieve a more profound, not to say theoretical, summation, in the full meaning of the term, but simply a more profound and skilled summing up of the experience in applying the set of measures aimed at improving the planned management of the national economy. Economic research must be conducted more quickly in order to meet contemporary requirements.

I believe that the conference will also encourage some scientific institutions to consider more extensively how to resolve the problem of the correlation between the armed and peaceful revolution in the present international situation or, if you wish, of revolution with and without bloodshed; I believe that all social scientists will give priority to the purposeful and comprehensive study of the contemporary manifestations of anticommunism, anti-Sovietism, revisionism and reformism, and the forms of the struggle they wage against real socialism.

In this connection, I must emphasize the responsibility assigned to us, party members and workers in the social sciences, dictated by the legitimately increased role of science. Science is becoming a powerful, an extremely necessary tool for social practice. This can be accomplished only by real science.

I consider the work of the conference a definite although so far modest contribution to the implementation of the tasks which the 16th CPCZ Congress assigned to our social sciences by demanding of us the creative elaboration of Marxist-Leninist theory in close connection with the practice of the building of socialism. I believe that the work of our conference has merely come closer to these strict requirements. However, this was a useful meeting which enabled its participants to acquire a specific idea on the study of the problems of developed socialism, armed us with interesting suggestions on further scientific research and helped to intensify the theoretical base which



is so greatly necessary in the education of the new man and waging active ideological struggle against the class enemy. In a word, we are faced with extensive and responsible work. I would say that we are faced with far more work than has been done so far. Profoundly aware of this fact, the participants in the conference are fully resolved to carry it out in a militant and responsible fashion, in a spirit of high party-mindedness and loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and their creative application.

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FOR A MARXIST-LENINIST IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE BY THE PZPR AND FOR THE TOTAL  
ASSERTION OF SOCIALISM IN THE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE

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[Article by Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee]

[Text] Struggle Between Two Lines: For and Against Socialism

In the summer of 1980 the Polish People's Republic was at the crossroads. Errors and deformations in the leadership of the party and the state had resulted in weakening the link with the masses and had prompted discontent and protest among them. The crisis that had long been brewing surfaced in political, social and economic life. The country was gripped by a keen political struggle in which the stake was the key problems of the country's state structure and development, its domestic and foreign policy and Poland's place in the socialist community. Imperialism, which had never abandoned its plans to reverse the revolutionary liberation process initiated by Great October and strengthened many times over as a result of the rout of Hitlerite fascism during World War II, now focused its efforts on socialism's weak link, which is what People's Poland had become by the late seventies.

Collaborating closely, the internal and external enemies of our party and socialist system pooled their efforts to exploit to their own ends the crisis weakening socialism's positions in Poland. There was a mounting attack on the foundations of the sovereign existence and socialist development of our people's homeland--the party, social ownership and the planned economy, Poland's alliance with the USSR and its place in the community of socialist states, and the whole sphere of social consciousness.

The PZPR and the political and social forces allied with it came out with profound self-criticism and formulated a mature, principled assessment of the mistakes that had been made and their sources and causes. On this basis, during a lengthy debate a program of socialist renewal--the purification and improvement of the practice of building socialism in our country--was formulated. We embarked on the requisite reforms and transformations and mounted a struggle against the distortions and deformations while at the same time emphasizing the continuity of the traditions of the Polish workers movement--of our party and its predecessors--and of the struggle for People's Poland and for the building of socialism, and also the tremendous significance of the achievements that the working class and all creative forces of the Polish people have secured under the party's leadership in the postwar years.

The program, whose essence is the rebirth, consolidation and successful development of the socialist system in the Polish People's Republic, represents at the same time a program of struggle against the threat of counterrevolution. It is full of the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, of the class assessment of reality and its problems and of a resolute desire to take into account and implement in practice the general laws of socialism while making full use of the factors of our country's specific national nature.

The principled Marxist-Leninist line of socialist renewal was opposed by a line of the total denial and destruction of the principles and achievements of socialism in Poland. Political adventurers and extremists who had seized key positions in Solidarity and other organizations whose actions were directed against the interests of the working class, and activists in patently counter-revolutionary illegal organizations began to proclaim and implement concepts directed not toward the purification and rebirth of socialism but against socialism, with the aim of weakening and dismantling it.

The depth of the crisis, combined with the acuteness of adversaries' attacks on the party, the people's power and the socialist state and also all kinds of weaknesses in our own ranks, made it necessary to counter the counter-revolutionary threat with emergency measures in the shape of martial law.

At the seventh plenum Comrade W. Jaruzelski said of the decision taken on 13 December: "Everyone who is very familiar with the course of events in Poland and knows how to think politically and responsibly understands that decision. All other means of surmounting the political and economic crisis had failed to produce results. The aggressive statements in Radom and Gdansk (the reference is to the last sessions of the Solidarity leading organs--M.O.) had broken off the dialogue once and for all. The introduction of martial law was our last possible political initiative to avoid the incalculable consequences of a confrontation."

The decision has proved its worth in practice. Order and discipline are gradually being established. The atmosphere of labor and of the creation of physical assets necessary to surmount the tremendous economic difficulties have been restored. The processes of the consolidation and activation of the party are developing. The authorities' resolute and at the same time considered and just actions are supporting the party's ideological education and political propaganda offensive, which is introducing elements of realism and order into the consciousness of many people who had been under the influence of the antisocialist extremists' slogans. The suppression of the practice of blocking and fettering the actions of the party and the authorities to surmount the crisis is making it possible to gradually implement both constructive extreme [ekstremalnyy] measures and long-term reforms. Confidence in our country's alliance commitments has increased. In surmounting the crisis by our own efforts, we enjoy tremendous fraternal assistance from our socialist friends and their support against the campaign of boycott and attacks unleashed by the U.S. government together with reactionary groupings of the entire capitalist world.

Millions of workers and working people are seeing for themselves from their own experience that martial law is helping to create conditions ensuring the

consistent implementation of the program of socialist renewal adopted by the extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress. The thesis that there is no, nor can there be any, return to either the errors and distortions contravening the principles of socialism of before August 1980 or the threat of counterrevolution of before December 1981 is being increasingly corroborated.

We do not entertain harmful illusions that condemn us to inaction, and we do not claim that the enemy has now been totally paralyzed and crushed. The struggle continues and will be waged until the situation is completely normalized and the party's ties with the working class and all society are completely restored. We fully realize that the surmounting of the profound crisis that has gripped all spheres of our society's life--consciousness, political life, the economy, the ethical and moral sphere--has only just begun. What lies ahead of us is a long and difficult road and complex problems that only can be likened to those that we resolved in the first, most difficult years of the creation of the foundations of people's power, the foundations of socialism.

The PZPR Central Committee declaration "What We Are Fighting For, What We Are Seeking," adopted by the seventh plenum as a basis for partywide debate, says: "We are facing a difficult historical trial. It demands that all we communists make an unambiguous choice of aims and paths, determine the ideological and political character of the party and return to the ideological, political and moral sources of our movement's strength. The start of this process must be the rallying of the party and the formation around the tasks it has set of a front of national accord of forces occupying positions of socialism and of struggle against its internal and external enemies."

#### Certain Sources of the Crisis in Poland

"Marxism," V. I. Lenin wrote, "demands of us the most precise and objectively verifiable consideration of the correlation between classes and the specific peculiarities of each historical moment" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 31, p 132). That is fully relevant to the duty incumbent upon the PZPR today of making a comprehensive, principled assessment of the sources and causes of the present crisis. For "a political party's attitude towards its errors," Lenin pointed out, "is one of their most important and most reliable criteria of the party's seriousness and its implementation in reality of its duties to its class and to the working people's masses" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 40).

There is no need to be afraid, the leader of the first-ever proletarian party of the new type urged, of admitting your defeats and learning from their lessons, redoing many times over what was unfinished or done badly (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 44, p 205). It is precisely this task that is today facing our party, a task that is all the more important in that, under the guise of criticizing the errors made before 1980, antisocialist forces launched an attack on the party itself and its history, general line and achievements. At that time there arose inside the PZPR a right-wing opportunist tendency to call into question the fundamental principles of party-mindedness of the communist, Leninist type and also a doctrinaire leftist tendency to defend

those aspects of the party's activity in the preceding period that played the role of motive force in the process of the mounting and deepening of communication breakdowns with the working class and the masses.

The basic answer to questions relating to the reasons for and mechanisms of the present crisis was formulated at the extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress. At the same time the congress instructed the Central Committee to set up a commission to study all the circumstances that had caused the acute social conflicts in Poland, including those that accompanied the 1956 and 1970 crises, and also to determine the conclusions stemming from them with regard to the functioning of the party and the socialist state. This commission has begun its work. We expect its results to concretize and deepen the assessment of the factors of both a bureaucratic-technocratic (violation of the Leninist principles of intraparty democracy and socialist public democracy) and an opportunist character stemming from the underassessment of the class struggle on the domestic and international scales and of its influence on Polish reality. Certain important conclusions can already be drawn in this sphere, which is directly relevant to the PZPR's present tasks in ideological activity and the political struggle.

The first conclusion relates to the fact that in recent years Socialist Poland has been the target of a massive attack by forces hostile to socialism and peace. The subjective weaknesses characteristic of PZPR policy in the seventies and especially the serious errors made by the former party leadership created favorable conditions for this.

The extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress frankly pointed out that the main source of the mounting crisis whose culmination was the broad wave of massive strikes in August 1980 was the serious violation of the Leninist norms of intraparty life and the deviation from the fundamental principles of socialist building. These deformations, which resulted in the restriction of socialist democracy and the distortion of its essence, had a direct influence on the serious weakening of the party's leading role and the undermining of its links with the masses. The voluntarism in economic policy, especially the excessive expansion of the front of capital investments, and also our national economy's dependence on capitalist loans, caused a deepening of the economic, and in its wake political, crisis.

The country's intolerably high indebtedness resulted both in a restriction of its independence in economic policy and in ideological concessions. The struggle against political opponents was slackened. Under strong pressure from the capitalist world, elements of the bourgeois system of values and especially in the philistine consumerist way of life became widespread in society. In the conditions of ideological and moral tolerance, harmful to society, they also began to penetrate the leading party and state apparatus.

The forms and methods of setting out the strategic goals of socioeconomic policy, the juggling with unrealistic promises and the "propaganda of successes" aroused on a large scale material demands that it was impossible to satisfy in the short term and resulted in the increase in society, especially among young people, of demands that were incompatible with the real potential for meeting them. This contradiction was deepened by the showcasing of the example of the so-called "consumer society" in the developed capitalist countries.

In this situation aggressive imperialist forces, with the help of anticommunist centers in the West and the groupings of opponents of socialism inside the country which they inspired, began to exert pressure on decisions in the sphere of socioeconomic policy, seeking to disrupt equilibrium and also to sharply deepen the economic difficulties and worsen the population's living standards in order to mount a lying campaign on the theme of the bankruptcy of the socialist system of economic management.

Of course, the reasons for the crisis cannot be reduced solely to the operation of external factors. However, its nature and development, especially after August 1980, cannot be understood without considering the close interlacing of the direct and indirect influence of imperialism.

What paved the way for the negative development of the situation was the serious errors made in the sphere of ideology; the weakening of ideological life inside the party and the dissemination of pragmatism, which narrows ideological horizons, substantially restricted the PZPR's ideological and political influence and the potential for it to influence the consciousness of the working class and society.

One of the most dangerous errors was the underestimation of and even deliberately scornful attitude toward forces hostile to socialism which are becoming more active with every passing year. The activity of opponents of socialism speculating on the errors of the past, the deepening of economic difficulties and the deterioration in the population's living standards--activity which gained in scope after August 1980--sharpened the tension and fueled social conflicts.

What also played a part was the underestimation of the activity of the church, which, developing its social doctrine, strengthened its penetration of the sphere of political life. These tendencies are being manifested in various parts of the world. But in Poland they have a particular historical basis and are conditioned by contemporary factors.

While seeking the constructive formation of relations between the secular socialist state and the church and avoiding adventurism in the political struggle against religion, it is at the same time necessary to combat tendencies for clericalization and attempts to exploit religious feelings for the political aims of anticommunism.

The real reasons for the crisis in the sphere of social consciousness arose under the influence of superficial, rosy propaganda which avoided real problems and to which Lenin's well-known remark that "there is nothing more vulgar than complacent optimism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 10, p 355) applied. By depriving the party of trust, this propaganda boomeranged against the tremendous achievements that Poland has secured in the years of people's power, including the last decade.

Thus the basic reasons for the crisis lay in our party's subjective weaknesses and errors, which were taken advantage of by the forces of international anti-communism to intensify the actions of internal opponents of the socialist

system and attack the party and the people's power. The crisis in Poland is in no way either a crisis of socialist ideas or a crisis of real socialism; it is primarily a consequence of a deviation from the scientific, Marxist-Leninist assessment of social reality and a result of a violation of the principles of socialism and especially of the untimely exposure of the contradictions between the development of production forces and the level of social consciousness on the one hand, and management methods and economic structures, and also the method of exercising power, on the other.

#### Against Subversion and Counterrevolution

In recent years the mistakes that were made and the deformations that were not eliminated in time have turned our country into the target of concentrated and massive influence from the forces of international anticommunism. Exploiting the mounting crisis, they sought and are continuing to seek, in particular, to compensate for the defeats they have suffered in other countries and parts of the world. What is being implemented with regard to Poland is imperialism's general strategy based on attempts to "soften" the socialist society ideologically by stimulating and organizing anticommunist opposition groups. Various centers and sources are palming them off with programs notable for their hostility to socialism, chauvinism and anti-Sovietism. The fundamental innovation this time was that the attention was focused on the worker milieu and on young people, and not just on the intelligentsia involved in shaping public opinion and on young students, as in the sixties, for instance.

Both the main antisocialist groupings--KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and the "Confederation for an Independent Poland"--began their activity with fierce attacks on the theory of Marxism-Leninism and on the fundamental ideas and principles of socialism. The platform of these groupings, especially that of KSS-KOR, which arrayed itself in pseudo-left-wing garb, was later adopted by extremist Solidarity figures. They tried to use the working class protest in the summer of 1980 for a struggle against socialism, sowing doubts as to the effectiveness of the socialist system of economic management and its ability to satisfy working people's requirements. The attempts to belittle the significance of the values and principles of socialism were partially successful. The pseudosocialist phraseology, designed to be popular, meant that many people, especially young people, were unable to distinguish criticism of real errors that was correct, constructive and inspired by the principles of Marxism-Leninism from that attacking our system from a standpoint hostile to socialism. So one of the party's key ideological and political tasks is the precise differentiation of these two fundamentally different and opposite types of criticism.

Right from the outset the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party was called into question, then fiercely attacked. In accordance with the line of international centers of antisocialist subversion, extremists opposed to the existing system introduced this strategic orientation into Solidarity. This process can be traced from the dispute about recognition of the PZPR's leading role in the Solidarity statutes, then in the case of the expulsion of party members from the trade union's leading organs and the restriction of party influence on the formation of workers' self-management, right through to the overt

attempts to remove the party from enterprises. This is why the struggle for recognition of the party's role in social consciousness is truly of key importance for us today.

Along with this an attack was launched on the ownership of the means of production by the whole people. It was implemented in the form of both an overt demand for the return of some socialized enterprises to private ownership and more cautious actions, in view of the fact that society and especially the working class regard the socialization of ownership as one of the fundamental social gains. With the aim of demonstrating the supposed inefficiency of an economy based on ownership by the whole people, demands were put forward for a considerable increase in wages and a sharp reduction of worktime through the declaration of Saturdays to be free days, and at the same time there was a slackening of production discipline. The constant blocking of the government's measures for a way out of the crisis of "strike fever" led to the exhaustion of the economy and the deepening of the country's economic destabilization.

The strategic direction of the antisocialist activity was the desire to undermine Poland's alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries. While some dreamed of wresting our country out of the community of socialist states, others want a gradual "Finlandization" as a first step toward isolating Poland from its socialist allies.

A lying and demagogic propaganda campaign was mounted with the aim of inflaming anti-Soviet feeling in society, especially among young people. The "reanimation" of historical disputes that had been resolved began on a large scale, and reactionary, antisocialist and anti-Soviet assessments of the facts and personalities of the past were popularized. Therefore a task of tremendous importance today is work for the historical enlightenment of society, especially young people, and for the investigation and popularization of progressive, patriotic and internationalist traditions, especially the 100-year history of the Polish workers movement and of the struggle of left-wing Polish public groupings.

The introduction of martial law put an end to overt action by the opponents of socialism inside our country and at the same time intensified the attempts at external interference in Poland's affairs by imperialist forces. Surely that is shown by the posture of President Reagan, who until last December called for the Poles to resolve their problems by their own efforts, yet when this happened embarked on the road of manifest direct interference in our internal affairs, trying to force his NATO allies to operate in the same way.

Economic means have been used as an instrument of political pressure and various aspects of the propaganda war against Poland have been stepped up. One of the main avenues of this influence is the molding of destructive and anarchist views, the call for passive resistance and for the refusal of any cooperation with the authorities, and support for clandestine activities. The aggregate of the various types of pressure is designed to force a return to the situation that existed before 13 December last year--that is, to restore the potential for the continuation of activity that openly set the aim of dismantling the socialist state.



One confirmation of the ferocity of international reaction is the considerable increase in the Polish-language broadcast time of Western radio stations. Apart from the almost 24-hour program of Radio Free Europe, the U.S. government radio station has doubled its programming for Polish listeners since the proclamation of martial law in Poland. The Polish program of Britain's BBC has been expanded. After a break of several years Radio-France Internationale has resumed Polish-language broadcasts.

It is not just a question of Poland here. The current propaganda attack is at the same time aimed at discrediting socialism in the eyes of the capitalist countries' public. This is realized by the majority of Western communist and workers parties, which, like the French Communist Party, are giving considered and persuasive support to our party in the present difficult struggle. So what should be all the more surprising is the posture of certain parties, especially the Italian Communist Party and the Spanish Communist Party, which have ultimately joined in the attacks on Poland and real socialism in a cold war spirit, avoiding a class assessment of the truth about the Polish crisis and the associated threat to the interests of peace and social progress on earth.

There is no need to teach us Polish communists the need to eliminate the errors and distortions, to restore a worker [rabochaya] and democratic policy and to maintain open dialogue and communication with the working people. The point is that this complex process must be effectively protected from the intrigues of internal and external counterrevolutionary forces and from the interference of class enemies.

The resolution of both the aforementioned tasks in their dialectical connection was promoted by the introduction of martial law in Poland, a decision dictated by considerations of extreme necessity and adopted in accordance with the Polish Constitution. Socialism's opponents had shown their hand and had started preparations for a frontal offensive against the gains of the working class and the structures of the people's state. Our motherland had run up against the direct danger of a fratricidal civil war. The prime duty was to eliminate this danger, resolutely oppose the dismantling and disintegration of the state and restore tranquility and public order. This sovereign step taken against a mortal threat to the existence of the Polish people was at the same time a measure necessary to save peace in Europe. In this sense, as Comrade W. Jaruzelski stated at the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum, martial law [voyennoye polozheniye] in our country is essentially antiwar law [antivoyennoy polozheniye].

The course of events has proved the correctness of this decision, which was taken with a heavy heart. The decision showed that counterrevolution will not pass in a socialist state and that the forces seeking destruction are doomed to defeat and their successes can only be temporary.

A principled argument in favor of the martial law restrictions necessitated in view of the negative development of events is the resolute course of the party and the state toward consistently implementing economic reforms and measures to promote the development of socialist democracy and toward continuing the program of socialist renewal.

"Steps have been taken today that will help to preserve the basic values of socialist renewal," the chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation said on 13 December. "All the reforms that are being carried out will proceed in conditions of tranquility, constructive debate and discipline." Those words were emphatically reaffirmed and specifically developed at the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum. "The Central Committee emphasizes the durability and irreversibility of the changes in sociopolitical life outlined in the decisions of the extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress," we read in the document adopted at the seventh plenum.

#### For a Cohesive and Vigorous Marxist-Leninist Party

The declaration "What We Are Fighting For, What We Are Seeking" now being discussed in all party organizations notes that the way out of the crisis can be indicated, the broad support of society won and the true ideals of socialism asserted "only by a purified party, completely reborn, ideologically and organizationally strengthened, guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism in its practical activity and educating its members in the spirit of these principles. A party that applies the universal teaching of Marxism-Leninism creatively, in accordance with the spirit of that teaching, with traditions and national values and with the demands of the historical situation."

We have entered the decisive phase of the struggle for the ideological unity of the party and the strengthening of its Marxist-Leninist character. The ideological and political confusion that gripped many strata of the population during the crisis period had a negative influence on the situation in the party and deepened the adverse consequences of the preceding omissions over the course of many years. The majority of party members were correct in their assessment of the situation and the tasks arising from it and were able to come to a correct understanding of the direction of socialist renewal and the nature of the dangers from opponents of socialism that were threatening that line. However, there were those who proved to be under the influence of right-wing opportunism and capitulationist and revisionist tendencies. Conservative views elevated into a doctrine and sometimes assuming the form of left-wing opportunism and sectarianism also made their appearance. We are parting and will continue to part with people who are amenable to enemy pressure and who waver and adopt a wait-and-see position in the struggle that is under way, and also with those who refuse to understand the need for the process of socialist renewal. At the same time, however, we will see that we act fairly and thoughtfully in the process of purging and improving the quality of the party's ranks and that no valuable and ideologically committed person remains outside those ranks.

We support [stoim no pocheve] interparty democracy. However, we reject those interpretations of the party rules adopted by the extraordinary ninth congress which disrupt the cohesion of ranks and the effectiveness of action associated with unity and centralism and threaten to degenerate into a manifestation of factionalism, which would be disastrous for the party. Only a really cohesive party guided by Leninist principles and norms can cope with its tasks, rebuff the enemy and strengthen its leading role among the people. Only an ideologically and organizationally cohesive and morally pure party that is

uncompromising in the struggle for the working class' interests can restore and consolidate the link with the working class and with society and regain the trust and support of the masses.

A fundamentally important task of our party's ideological work is the formation in the working class of a consciousness of its class interests. Here we must rectify the consequences of both the longstanding omissions of the period before August 1980 and the post-August manipulations of opponents of socialism. We need a class approach toward social phenomena and processes and we need to replace the prematurely adduced thesis of the "politico-moral unity" of the people with a real picture of their social structure and political make-up and of the existing changes, differences and contradictions. This demands the expansion of the party's theoretical base and the intensive development and dissemination of Marxist-Leninist thought.

The aforementioned task is closely linked with the reassessment by society of the previous achievements of our country's socialist development. Despite the errors and setbacks that have fallen to our lot, Poland, thanks to the choice of the socialist path of development, has been reborn and has strengthened the foundations of its independence, has obtained secure, just borders, reliable alliances and lasting peace and has scored considerable successes in many spheres.

We are going onto the offensive in the sphere of shaping the historical consciousness of the people, especially the younger generation. The celebrations of the centennial of the Polish workers movement represent a favorable basis for the ideological struggle in this sphere.

The extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress adopted a decision on this question; the first part of the ideological declaration now being discussed throughout the party is also devoted to it. It is emphasized that our party is the heir to the traditions of the entire Polish workers movement and of the struggle for national and social liberation. In presenting the history of the PZPR and its predecessors, we emphasize both their patriotism and their internationalism, especially the close connection with the revolutionary movement in Russia, the Bolshevik Party and the October Revolution, and we document the correctness of the general line of the workers movement on the issues vital to the people at different periods of history. The polemical edge of the documents and research activity and the party's ideological education work are directed against the hostile theses and assessments whereby attempts are made to undermine the significance and achievements of left-wing forces and to call into question the correctness of their revolutionary, Leninist ideological orientation.

We regard the more profound mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory and the study of the traditions and experience of the Polish and international workers movement as one of the main tasks in the political and ideological education of party members and candidate members. For the dissemination of knowledge of our movement's history and achievements molds the ability to make a correct assessment of the contemporary problems of the class struggle and equips people with arguments in the polemic against internal enemies of socialism and imperialist propaganda.

It is particularly important to convey the content of the celebrations of the centennial of the Polish workers movement to the younger generation. We are setting teachers the relevant tasks and are enriching these problems in the curricula of schools and educational establishments. Our youth organizations are including them in aktiv political studies, and also in their cultural enlightenment activities.

Scientific and popular science sessions, symposia and seminars occupy an important place among the planned events. Work is continuing on the preparations for the scientific session "The Polish Working Class and Workers Movement in Poland's Recent History," planned for November. We are hoping the representatives of the fraternal parties will take part in it. Many suggestions in the program of celebrations are aimed at creative circles and cultural institutions and centers. Publishing will also play an important part.

Implementing the leading role in the building of socialism, the PZPR must become a truly vanguard party that unites people who are boundlessly devoted to the idea, who are vigorous, honest, modest, decent, bold and proven fighters who assert the leading role of the party not merely in words but in deeds. Our strength is based on the strength of our ideas, so we will protect their purity, defend them against distortions and deformations and build the unity of the party ranks on them and around them. In creating scope for the exchange of opinions, thoughtful research and creative quests, the party will adhere to the principles of democratic centralism, the foundations and limits of its true unity.

There is a close reverse connection between the wealth and principledness of ideological life, theoretical activeness and political influence and the tasks of the struggle to fully assert socialism in the consciousness of the working class, the working people and the whole people--a task that is today facing us most acutely. This struggle will be long and difficult. However, the general preconditions exist today for victory in it. For the party has embarked on the path of purification and rebirth--the party is the same, but not the same, as the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum said figuratively.

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## AFGHAN PARTY LEADER REPORTS TO NATIONAL CONFERENCE

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[Abridged account of report of Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee [PDPA], at 14 March 1982 PDPA national conference: "Draft Action Program of the PDPA and the Tasks for Reinforcing the Party and Strengthening Its Ties to the People"]

[Text] The party has trodden a great and difficult path since the First PDPA Congress (held illegally on 1 January 1965). The April revolution, which set Afghanistan on the path of national-democratic development, was accomplished in the country under the leadership of the PDPA.

In the short time since 27 April 1978, profound changes have occurred and continue to occur in the country. The political and socioeconomic domination of the feudal lords and big money-lenders has been done away with. Land and water reform is being implemented in the interests of the bulk of the peasantry and nomads. The state sector in industry and transport is broadening and strengthening. The party and government are working persistently on the creation in the country of an atmosphere of legality and respect for the citizens' rights and liberties. Everything necessary for believers to perform without permit or hindrance the rites stipulated by the holy religion of Islam is being provided for in practice. The people are already persuaded that our policy is indeed geared to the solution of economic, social and spiritual problems in their interest. The result of the work that has been done in all spheres is the gradual establishment of new relations of respect, trust, cooperation and fraternity among all national patriotic forces of Afghanistan in their joint noble activity for the good of the motherland. Thus, the truth that PDPA policy is the correct policy expressing our people's needs and cherished aspirations has been corroborated once again.

Afghanistan's revolutionary turnabout from backwardness to all-around progress has engendered the rage and frenzied resistance of imperialism and reaction. They have organized extensive interference in our internal affairs, have embarked on the path of terror and violence, are provoking a fratricidal war and are stopping at nothing to restore the power of the exploiters in Afghanistan and deprive our people of the right to happiness and progress. It is their fault that many social and economic transformations are being implemented more slowly than planned and that serious difficulties are arising

in the work of industry, agriculture, power engineering and transportation. It is because of them that blood is still flowing and people are suffering. This situation demands of the PDPA, as the ruling revolutionary party, clarity of purpose, decisive actions and tremendous organizational work. This is why it is essential that we have an action program that represents a basis for the even closer cohesion of the party ranks and the mobilization of all our forces for tackling the tasks of the national-democratic revolution and defending its gains.

The new program document is also necessary because the main strategic task of the first PDPA program--winning political power--has been fulfilled. The party is now confronted with new tasks. Defining and formulating them and charting the concrete paths of our advance--this is the main purpose of the national conference.

Certain experience in intraparty work has been accumulated and new forms and methods of work have emerged in the party organizations since the PDPA Central Committee Second Plenum, which adopted the current party statutes. The structure of the party organizations continues to be streamlined, and district party committees and, in the large cities, subdistrict party committees have been set up. There have been changes in the functions and rights of the party committees of different subordination. All this is to be reflected in the basic party document regulating intraparty life--the PDPA statutes. For this reason, it will be advisable, we believe, to adopt a number of amendments and amplifications to the current party statutes.

Preparations for the national conference developed into a broad political campaign that strengthened and rallied the party even more, extended and reinforced its ties to the broad people's masses, elicited a new surge of revolutionary enthusiasm among party members and candidate members and enriched the party with new work experience.

In formulating the party's action program and the practical policy ensuing therefrom, we are guided by a simple and clear goal--making our people happy and our homeland prosperous. This is the essence of the April revolution and the PDPA's entire activity. But it is not possible to achieve this high goal right away. The transition from profound backwardness to all-around progress takes time and requires the conscious and plan-geared efforts of the entire people under the leadership of their political vanguard--the ruling revolutionary party. A historically inevitable and necessary stage of this process is the national-democratic revolution. Our April revolution provides an answer to the discontent and anger that had built up gradually in the country against the egoistic reactionary policy of antipopular regimes on the part of the broadest social forces--the working people, intelligentsia, progressive officers and soldiers, tribes, nations and nationalities. It is national-democratic and of an anti-imperialist nature.

Our revolution sets general democratic goals: the destruction of feudal and prefeudal remnants, a limitation to large-scale land-owning and the apportionment of land to the landless and virtually landless peasants and farm hands, an upturn in the national economy, a rise in the people's standard of living,

development of the culture of all nations, nationalities and tribes of Afghanistan and the profound and consistent democratization of social and political life. Our revolution takes account of the national singularities of the peoples who inhabit Afghanistan and their deep religious feelings, historical and cultural traditions and spiritual values. We approach these traditions and values with respect and are carefully preserving and developing all that is good and progressive that has been created by preceding generations.

I should emphasize once more that our revolution is the historical successor of the long struggle of Afghanistan's patriots for a better, happy future. This struggle picked up considerably under the influence of the fundamental changes throughout the world and in our region that occurred almost 65 years ago thanks to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and subsequent shifts in the correlation of forces in the world arena in favor of the forces of peace and progress. It was at this time that new trends emerged and developed rapidly and the forces of progress and freedom strengthened in Afghanistan.

All this testifies incontrovertibly to the tremendous, historically accumulated need of our people for genuine and all-around progress. The answer to this need of our society was the creation of the PDPA and its persistent heroic struggle, which was supported by all the national patriotic forces and which culminated in the victory of the April revolution.

The April revolution was victorious and is developing not spontaneously but on the basis of the general regularities of social revolutions and objective processes, which our party is creatively taking into account together with the economic, historical, national, spiritual and subjective and objective singularities of Afghanistan, which determine the particular features of the revolutionary process in our country.

The national-democratic revolution in Afghanistan has unfolded under conditions of the country's extreme backwardness, in which it has been necessary to tackle a broader range of problems than in certain other countries--religious, tribal, national and other problems in addition to general economic, social and cultural problems. All this demands of the party and the revolutionary government a balanced and flexible approach to their solution.

The April revolution began and is developing both in peaceful and nonpeaceful form, that is, in the form of the armed struggle of the party and the people against the aggression of imperialism, Beijing hegemonism, regional reaction and internal counterrevolution.

It should also be mentioned that the development of the national-democratic revolution following its victory has not been smooth and uninterrupted. It has encountered not only the deviations and mistakes of the initial stage but also extensive, organized outside interference. As a result, many of the scheduled tasks have not been tackled, and we have not managed to complete transformations that we have begun. Therefore, at the current stage of our revolution it is necessary to implement a program of measures to consolidate

the gains of the revolution, improve the material position of the working people, continue land and water reform, improve the people's provision with basic necessities and develop trade, culture and education.

It is important to emphasize that the April revolution is unfolding in a country a large part of whose population ascribes to the holy religion of Islam. Reaction in Afghanistan and outside has done and continues to do everything possible to stir in Muslim believers a hatred of the revolution and the PDPA. For this reason, the party is making new efforts to ensure that its lofty and noble ideals and goals are correctly and profoundly understood by Muslim believers, primarily the working people.

An essential peculiarity is also the fact that our revolution is unfolding in a country with a complex national and tribal composition. In the past, despotic, reactionary regimes took advantage of this to set the tribes, nations and nationalities against each other and to mutually weaken them and thus prolong their domination over them. The party and revolutionary power are paying the most earnest attention to a correct solution of this complex problem inherited from the past.

A correct understanding of the singularities of our revolution and their creative consideration in party and government policy together with the general regularities of revolutionary transformations is of fundamental importance. The success of practical policy and the success of the entire cause depend on this.

On the basis of an analysis of reality, the party concludes that the problems confronting the country and the revolution can be solved not all at once but in stages. The development of the revolution should be ongoing, consistent and plan-based. Each new stage of its development may begin only after the accomplishment of the tasks of the preceding stage.

Without getting ahead of itself and becoming divorced from reality, at the same time the party will brook no delays in the revolutionary transformation of Afghanistan. No marking time and substitution of the "revolutionary" phrase for action will be allowed. The party proceeds from an unbending resolve to gradually improve the people's material situation, liquidate illiteracy, develop education, health care and culture and ensure stability and revolutionary legality and order everywhere in the country.

In providing for the consistent negotiation of all stages of the national-democratic revolution, the party opposes attempts to counterpose some stages to others. A general direction of advance was prescribed following the victory of the April revolution. At the new, current stage this movement has been freed of subjectivism and the deformations it engendered and has acquired powerful new stimuli for unswerving development in the prescribed direction.

The fact that the April revolution laid the foundations of a new political system expressing the revolution's democratic essence is also one of its achievements. This system includes, together with the organs of state power, the National Patriotic Front, which is the bulwark of the power of the working people in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA], with all the mass public organizations incorporated therein.



The new political system has been created and is functioning. The party will continue to display concern for its refinement and democratization and the strengthening of its ties to the people.

The party has always proceeded and continues to proceed from the fact that the question of power is the main, fundamental question of revolution. The April revolution created a new type of state power that represents the power of the working people and all patriots. Its basis is an alliance of the main social forces of our society--workers and peasants--expressing the fundamental interests and cherished aspirations of the broadest masses of the people. All working people and all true patriots and worthy sons of the homeland--the intelligentsia, soldiers and officers of the people's armed forces, craftsmen, businessmen and salesmen and religious figures--and the tribes, nations and nationalities of Afghanistan support this alliance and participate in it.

We are building a new Afghanistan in an atmosphere of an undeclared war imposed on us by imperialism and reaction. This is why we attach paramount significance to ensuring and further enhancing our ability to defend the homeland and the revolutionary gains, reliably consolidating them and rendering them secure and emphatically and successfully putting a stop to attempts by imperialist and reactionary forces to restore the domination of the exploiters. In this respect, the draft action program contains a system of well-considered and effective measures that provide primarily for a further strengthening of the revolutionary army and the people's militia and a rise in the level of their combat and political training together with the strengthening and extension of their ties to the people, which is vitally important for the revolution.

The revolutionary people's power is the principal political conquest of the victorious April revolution. At the same time, it is the main political implement of its further intensification and development, the extension of the economic, social and cultural transformations in the interests of the broad people's masses, primarily the working people, and the reliable defense of the gains against the encroachments of foreign and internal reaction.

In this connection, a most important and priority task of the party and the revolutionary power is the completion of the rout of the armed counterrevolution, the establishment and dependable consolidation of revolutionary power on the territory where the reactionary forces' undeclared war is still being waged against it and guaranteed lasting civic peace in the country. The concept of civic peace developed by our party signifies primarily normal, peaceful and tranquil conditions for the joint discussion and solution of the problems confronting us. It is this that will make room for the implementation of the entire set of socioeconomic transformations outlined in the action program.

Our party took political power in accordance with the will and in the interests of the people. It is this that determines the nature and direction of our development.

We must take account first of all of the fact that different economic structures--such as the state sector in industry and agriculture; the cooperative

sector in the countryside and the city; the state-private capital structure (mixed sector); the private capital structure in industry, transportation, agriculture and trade; small-scale commodity production in the countryside and the city; and traditional semisubsistence peasant farming and the farming of nomads--have objectively taken shape and are functioning in our country.

This multiple structure is preserved at this stage of the national-democratic revolution. We do not intend to artificially and unnecessarily accelerate the liquidation of the historically evolved structures. On the contrary, we will work persistently and patiently in our economic and social policy on making full use of the potential of all of the structures in the interests of the development of the country's production forces and to the good of the whole people. This will also solve an important social problem: We will increase and accelerate the rapprochement of the different social and national strata and groups that support us. Finally, the development of the production forces and the introduction of modern equipment and technology and the upsurge of education and culture will enable us to gradually overcome the multiple structure. The leading role in this process will be performed by the state sector.

Thanks to the preferential, plan-based and gradual increase in the role and significance of the state sector and planning in the country's economy, all economic resources will be enlisted more fully and efficiently in the general cause of progress, a rise in the working people's well-being and the strengthening of defense capability. But the party and the revolutionary power are adopting all necessary measures and providing for the appropriate guarantees to ensure that the reorganization of the multiple-structure economy proceeds not to the detriment of the workers' interests but on the basis of an improvement in their living and working conditions and a rise in their material and cultural well-being.

The party's economic and social program constitutes realistic and interconnected plans. They are based on the conditions and possibilities that we actually possess. This is why the party pays constant attention to the country's economic problems and is doing everything possible to strengthen the economy, increase industrial, handicraft and agricultural production and improve trade. Naturally, these great tasks cannot be tackled in a short time. It is all the more difficult to tackle them in the atmosphere of undeclared war being waged by imperialism and regional reaction against Afghanistan. But the party and the revolutionary power proclaim that we do not intend to postpone and will not postpone indefinitely what in the interests of the people can be accomplished today.

Afghanistan's backwardness and underdevelopment are of a temporary, transitional nature. Afghanistan possesses great natural resources and a sufficient amount of good land, of which less than half is now being worked. Its people are industrious and talented. The party is sure that in the foreseeable future our homeland can and must become an economically developed state with a diversified industry, strong and productive agriculture and a materially well-off, literate and politically developed population.

Taking account of the specific features of the Afghan economy, the draft action program pays special attention to problems of the development of agriculture and an improvement in the position of the peasantry.

The PDPA proceeds in its agrarian policy from the fact that only by doing away with the feudal system is it possible to make way for the potential of agricultural production. The party and the people's power intend to consistently and persistently pursue a policy of a democratic solution of the agrarian question with the direct participation of the peasants and their increased role in this matter of vital importance to us.

The building of a new, flourishing Afghanistan is closely connected with the development of industry, transportation and communications.

We evaluate our situation and possibilities realistically. For this reason, the plans for economic development that we have outlined are also of a realistic nature. But on the basis of these plans we will be able in the future to embark on the implementation of a more wide-ranging economic program that will provide for Afghanistan's conversion into a country of modern, productive industrial and agricultural production.

The development of the country's production forces, which has been planned and is being effected by the party and the revolutionary power, is making positive changes to the social structure of our society. Our party's social policy reflects these changes and is helping to ensure that the gains of the revolution serve all the working people and all patriotic forces and contribute to their cohesion in the soil of common progress. The party and the government understand that for national patriotic unity to be a really strong, indestructible unity it is necessary that it have a strong political and socioeconomic foundation. The creation of such a foundation is provided for in the draft action program, in which all classes, strata, groups, nationalities, nations and tribes will find a fitting reflection of their fundamental interests and the correct, concrete paths to their plan-based satisfaction.

The PDPA's nationality policy is not determined by current conditions but the very essence of the April national-democratic revolution.

The revolutionary power in the DRA is the first power in our homeland's long history that sets as its goal the introduction to material and spiritual progress of the entire population of Afghanistan, genuine and complete equality and equal opportunities for the all-around development of all the country's nationalities, nations and tribes. They are also afforded and guaranteed equal opportunities for participating in public and state affairs, the implementation of revolutionary transformations and the defense of the homeland. The objective necessity for securing material and spiritual progress and development common to all nationalities, nations and tribes of Afghanistan is engendering and strengthening a process of their rapprochement, cooperation, mutual understanding, friendship and fraternity.

It is at this that the policy of the party and the revolutionary power is aimed. As at present, so in the future the party and the revolutionary power will proceed here from recognition of and respect for the historical, cultural

and religious traditions of all nationalities, nations and tribes and their customs and morals. The development of all that is best and valuable in the cultural heritage and traditions of all nations, nationalities and tribes is ensured and guaranteed.

In recognizing and respecting the role and significance of the Pushtu tribes in the history of our fatherland and the defense of its borders and their traditions and customs and way of life, the PDPA and the DRA Government are pursuing in respect to them a policy of trust, peace and cooperation that ensues from the essence of the April revolution and corresponds to the principles and ideals of the holy religion of Islam.

A most important sphere for the party is the people's spiritual development and the progress of our science and culture.

The victory of the April revolution created all the necessary conditions and prerequisites for ensuring that the riches and values of national and world culture, science and art become the property of the broad masses of the people. Understandably, this will take quite some time and the tremendous, purposeful efforts of the party and the public. Our country has specific problems and difficulties in the sphere of ideological work stemming from the multistructure of the economy, the social heterogeneousness of our society, the complexity of the national and tribal structure and the vestiges and manifestations of various exploiter, reactionary views and outlooks and the influence of nationalism and tribalism, which are still strong and tenacious. The majority of the population is illiterate or barely literate. All these difficulties are being made worse as a consequence of the ideological aggression of imperialism and regional reaction against Afghanistan.

In accordance with the requirements of the present and subsequent stages of the revolution, the activity of all means of ideological influence on the broad masses of the people should be increased and stimulated. Ideological, political, teaching and educational work should be developed on a planned and comprehensive basis and contribute to the revelation, strengthening and developing the revolutionary views and conceptions and standards and principles of the new morality and the new attitude toward labor, the utmost development of mass labor initiative and the people's active participation in defense of the gains of the revolution.

The first successful steps in this direction have been taken. On the basis of the transformations that have been implemented, powerful blows have been struck at the positions and roots of feudal ideology, the vestiges of national division and the ideological sabotage of imperialism. The level of the working people's consciousness is rising and their patriotic unity is strengthening before our very eyes. A national campaign has been developed at the party's initiative to do away with illiteracy.

The party and the revolutionary power see it as an important task to communicate to people a correct understanding of the processes and phenomena occurring in the world and in our country and provide them with a correct political orientation. For this reason the people's general enlightenment and education should be inseparably linked with people's introduction to knowledge of the fundamentals of progressive revolutionary theory.

A most important task is to inculcate in the working people a spirit of love of the homeland, a spirit of national patriotic unity and devotion to the ideas of social progress and international solidarity and a spirit of irreconcilability with feudal and separatist vestiges and bourgeois and nationalist ideology. All this can only be achieved on the basis of the working people's extensive participation in the implementation and consolidation of national-democratic transformations and in their defense.

The draft action program formulates party policy precisely with respect to the holy religion of Islam.

We all see and know that it is this question that attracts the particular attention of the enemies of the homeland and the revolution. They are exerting inordinate efforts to distort the essence of our policy with respect to Islam and Muslim believers. Boundless lies and shabby insidiousness--these are their weapons. But does Islam deny progress? Does Islam deny justice? Does Islam deny national patriotic unity? And does Islam not condemn Muslim shedding of Muslim blood?

We emphasize once again: Being profoundly national and democratic, the April revolution reflected the indomitable aspiration of the Muslim masses of Afghanistan for the establishment of genuine social justice and equality. It is this aspiration that represents one of the greatest values and most important traditions of the holy religion of Islam.

The experience of such Muslim countries as the Algerian People's Democratic Republic, Syria, Libya and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and, finally, our own experience testifies that revolutionary transformations not only do not contradict the social content of Islam and its historical appeal to justice, equality and the eradication of man's exploitation of man but, on the contrary, create the groundwork for the practical realization of these propositions in accordance with the historical aspirations of the broad Muslim people's masses and a correct understanding and application of Islamic values.

Proceeding from the principles and goals of the April revolution, the PDPA and the DRA Government again solemnly declare that all rights and freedoms of Muslims and devout ulemas--patriots of our homeland--are guaranteed in the DRA. All religious establishments, religious figures and believers are guaranteed the support of the state in everything connected with their religious activity and their aspiration for social justice and equality for all Muslims in social, economic and cultural life.

The DRA shows constant concern for the mosques and other religious establishments and the protection of places sacred to Muslims, ensuring for Muslim priests freedom of activity, facilitating pilgrimage to Mecca and other cities sacred to Muslims and ensuring the observance of all religious holidays and remembrance days.

Complete freedom of other religious cults that do not contradict the principles of humanism and philanthropy and do not threaten the security of our society is also exercised in our country in accordance with the sacred principles of Islam.

But the PDPA and the revolutionary power will never be reconciled to attempts by the enemies of the revolution and the people to take advantage of the holy and respected religion of Islam to force Afghanistan to turn from its chosen path. We are proving in practice that it is not national and social progress that is contrary to Islam but the criminal activity of those who cannot and do not wish to understand and apply Islam correctly.

The party will remain true to its consistent and honest policy of respect for the religious feelings of our Muslim people. It will continue to implement the program of transformations for their better living conditions in the name of creating a just and prosperous society in our ancient land.

The nucleus of the new revolutionary sociopolitical system of Afghanistan and its leading and directing force is the PDPA. It is armed with progressive revolutionary theory, unites and expresses the interests of the workers, peasants and all working people of the country and formulates the political line and strategy and tactics of the struggle for the happy future of our beloved fatherland. The party is the most organized and ideologically cohesive progressive detachment of our society and is inseparably linked with the broad masses of the people.

As the country's production forces develop and social relations are transformed, the party's leading role will constantly grow and its influence on the broad masses will increase. A most important direction in the party's political work is the ensuring of its inseparable link with the people. This is the source of its strength and viability. The political work of the party as a whole and all its party committees and primary party organizations and every party member and candidate member should be geared to rallying the broad masses around the party and leading them, having mobilized them for the consolidation and defense of the gains of the revolution, the establishment of firm civic peace in the country and the further implementation of national-democratic transformations in the interests of the homeland and the people.

The main thing is to expand the mass base of the revolution and enlist all progressive forces and organizations in active participation in the implementation of revolutionary transformations. The question of allies is now more acute than ever. It is necessary here to be able to agree to compromises within reasonable limits, of course, and on a principled basis. Despite certain differences of view, we must find points of contact and introduce these forces more actively to the accomplishment of the tasks confronting the fatherland and the struggle for the establishment of civic peace.

It has to be emphasized that there has been an incomparable increase in the significance for the party of ideological work since it became the ruling party. It is primarily the party that is mainly responsible for the correct theoretical collation of experience in the current stage of the revolution and its prospects. Taking as a basis progressive revolutionary theory, its own political experience and a profound knowledge of life, the party illuminates the immediate and more distant stages of the development of society and the state with the power of its foresight.

A most important area in our ideological work is the molding of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses and their conviction as to the soundness of the ideas and policy of the party so that they can become active fighters for the cause of the revolution and their own cause. The great Lenin said: "...A state is strong thanks to the consciousness of the masses. It is strong when the masses know everything, can make a judgement about everything and agree to everything consciously" ("Complete Works," vol 35, p 21). At the same time, we need to struggle more assertively and aggressively against hostile ideology. It must always be remembered that words of falsehood can be heard where words of truth do not resound.

The strength of the revolutionary party lies in organization, monolithic character and cohesion. The entire historical path and political experience of the PDPA teach that only unity of action guarantees success and victory. When unity was broken, the party weakened and incurred defeats and its very existence was in jeopardy. The party is in need of close, organic unity particularly under current conditions.

Only on this condition will it be able to exercise its leading role in extending and defending the revolution.

Only on this condition will it know how to successfully and triumphantly lead our noble and freedom-loving people to a happy future.

The party proceeds from the fact that all attempts to undermine the unity and cohesion of the party ranks and manifestations of factionalism and clique-forming are contrary to its high role as political vanguard and leading force of society. The party's fundamental interests and its historic responsibility to the people render all manifestations of factionalism and clique-forming incompatible with the high title of member of the party and continuance in its ranks.

Our party is the political vanguard of the working class and all working people of Afghanistan. We must display constant concern to ensure that their best and most active, organized and conscious representatives supplement its ranks. This is the main source of the party's life and health and its strength and capacity for action. Particular attention should be focused on ensuring the purity of its ranks. It is necessary to erect a dependable barrier to the party's penetration by incidental people who are inclined toward anarchism and indiscipline and who are infected by alien ideology.

Another key question of the party's activity is work with personnel. Speaking, training and promoting good organizers, leaders and people boundlessly devoted to the revolution is the main task of the party committees. It is necessary to overcome more boldly the vestiges and harmful traditions of factionalism, sectarian mistrust of new party members and promotion according to family and clan characteristics, which still exist. Political and professional qualities are the main criteria in work with personnel. Fidelity to this principle determines the party's strength and its authority among the people. All these and a number of other propositions are reflected in the draft action program. Some of them, which regulate intraparty life, should evidently be included in the party statutes.

The party, as a social phenomenon, is a living organism, is in a state of constant development and does not know stagnation and inertia. It must not and cannot rest content with the successes that have been achieved. A critical analysis of what has been achieved and a self-critical attitude toward its activity are indications of the seriousness of the party and each of its member and their capacity for being the people's political vanguard in practice. For this reason, the party committees and primary party organizations are obliged to do everything possible to improve the forms and methods of their activity and constantly increase efficiency and the general level of their work and struggle.

Adoption of the action program will undoubtedly raise all party work to a new, higher level. It is against this that we must measure our every step and action, build our plans and tackle concrete tasks.

Discussion and adoption of the draft PDPA action program is of fundamental significance for the party, the state and society. It expresses both the party's theoretical and practical approach to problems of the current stage of the national-democratic revolution in Afghanistan and its immediate prospects.

This guiding and summary document corresponds to the new conditions and changed situation in the party, the country and the region inasmuch as the party, the revolutionary power and the broad public have trodden a considerable path and acquired new political, social, ideological and operational experience, particularly since the victory of the April revolution. The draft action program fully reflects the singularities of the stage we are experiencing, namely, the stage of implementation of the initial transformations of a national-democratic nature and the struggle to defend them. We are far from having implemented the entire set of national-democratic transformations. But we have firmly and consistently implemented and are continuing to implement the transformations that are the sole correct and essential basis for the subsequent accomplishment of the entire set of national-democratic tasks. We will accomplish them without fail. We have made a confident and successful start. This is what we mean when we speak of the stage to which the draft PDPA is devoted. The draft gives its main attention to the way in which the essence of party policy will be reflected in concrete measures for its implementation. As the ruling party, we are fully responsible to history and the people for fulfilling the provisions of this program document. It must never be forgotten that history and the people will judge us not only by our goals and principles, however lofty and noble they may be, but also by our capacity for their practical implementation for the general good.

The PDPA action program expresses precisely and fully the fundamental interests of the main motive forces of the revolution--the working class, peasants, revolutionary intelligentsia and broad working people's masses--and at the same time stipulates the practicable paths to and possibilities for a further increase in their role in the party, state and society.

Our republic is a target of unprovoked outside aggression, which is sowing disorders and bloodshed. People long for civic peace, normalization of the



situation and favorable conditions for their creative labor. And we must work nonstop, knowing neither tiredness nor fear and not postponing until tomorrow what can be done today--we must work and win. This is why we need an action program.

Our goals and intentions are clear and comprehensible. We want what the vast majority of the people wants--the prosperity, freedom and independence of the homeland. We respect the religious feelings of our compatriots and will strive with all our resources to ensure conditions in which every honest person can freely and happily live, work and rejoice in peace, bread and the happiness of his family.

But a handful of enemies--wretched accomplices of the ousted feudal lords, the money-lenders and international imperialism--are preventing us from accomplishing what the people want and what they need. They are burning mosques, schools and hospitals, depriving the population of food, disrupting the operation of enterprises and transportation, preventing the cultivation of the fields and the harvest and terrorizing peaceful inhabitants. All this is being done under the false slogans of "struggle for the faith and freedom of the fatherland." Tell me: Which of us is insulting the feelings of Muslim believers? Who is impeding their rites? Who is preventing the laboring people from living freely and happily? Those who are waging an undeclared war against Afghanistan.

Unfortunately, part of the population--many owing to compulsion or deception and some owing to ignorance of the goals and tasks being tackled by the party and the revolutionary government--is still a part of the bands waging a fratricidal war, thereby perpetrating a grave sin before Islam and the fatherland. And this creates a tense military-political situation in the country and great difficulties for industry, agriculture, transportation, power engineering and trade.

The action program and the situation in the country determine the need for the concentration of the attention of the entire party, the organs of state power and all public organizations in the National Patriotic Front on the accomplishment of urgent, priority tasks.

First of all, the party committees and organs of state power both centrally and locally must direct their efforts toward the struggle against armed counterrevolution and for the establishment and firm consolidation of people's power locally over the entire territory of Afghanistan. This most important cause is the cause of the entire party and all of the people.

It is therefore essential to create a single, comprehensive system for the defense of the revolution and the people that incorporates together with units of the army and the people's militia revolutionary detachments and tribal emergency volunteer corps and territorial self-defense formations. It is necessary to set up and reinforce more boldly and decisively new detachments of patriots so that they can operate in all provinces and districts. It is necessary to ensure the reliable functioning of self-defense detachments at all enterprises and in the villages and other centers of population. Our people have glorious traditions of defending their honor and dignity. May

the land burn under the feet of the bandits, the accomplices of international reaction and all who are disrupting peaceful labor and tranquillity in our common fatherland! It is essential that the party committees in the provinces, cities and districts ensure that the people's masses resolutely take the matter of defense of the revolution into their own hands and defend it until complete victory. There must be effective party supervision of the efficient functioning of this system as a whole and the interaction of all of its components.

The decisive element in the achievement of final victory over the counterrevolution are the armed forces, people's militia and the security service. The party Central Committee and DRA Revolutionary Council and Council of Ministers are paying constant attention to strengthening them. The organizational development and strengthening of the armed forces and the organs for preserving security and order is a matter for the entire party and all public organizations.

We also need to emphasize the importance of the establishment and consolidation of power locally. It must be firmly grasped that there is not nor can there be a purely military victory and that victory is achieved when, following the expulsion of the enemy, priority measures begin immediately and are implemented with confidence in the interests of the population. Only when it itself is involved in the implementation and defense of such measures will the people's power stand firmly and indestructibly on its own two feet. Life is already confirming the correctness of this.

Our cadres have matured. The party organizations and committees have strengthened, and their relations with the masses have expanded. We have all learned much since the victory of the April revolution, particularly in its new stage. It is now necessary to more boldly and decisively shift the center of gravity of the struggle and day-to-day creative work to the localities--the provinces, districts and villages. The PDPA central authorities and the revolutionary power, ministries, departments and the National Patriotic Front must see this as their main task.

The efforts made by the party and the people in defense of the revolution and for the achievement of total victory over its enemies should be inseparably linked with an improvement in all work in the sphere of the economy. We must all realize that successes in the development of the economy, the implementation of land and water reform and the accomplishment of urgent social tasks are the key to winning the trust of the masses and their enlistment on the side of the party and the revolutionary cause.

We cannot wait until the counterrevolution has been completely smashed and civic peace has been established. People must perceive today the concern of the party and the revolutionary power and feel the advantages of the new social system. We have as yet managed merely to raise the wages of workers and employees and increase the cash norm for the workers' daily nourishment. Total state expenditure to these ends constitutes more than 1.5 billion afghanis a year. But for further steps in this direction we need primarily to increase production efficiency in all spheres and sectors of the economy.

An immediate task is to ensure stable production both in industry and in agriculture. The party should see this as its main goal. It is here, in the solution of urgent economic and social problems, that the main front of the struggle for a new, prosperous Afghanistan lies.

The economy is also policy and, furthermore, policy demanding the constant and painstaking work of the entire party.

In this connection, a regular party Central Committee plenum should be devoted to questions of the economy. It will be necessary to formulate there not only concrete measures to strengthen and develop it but also to determine the methods and forms of party leadership of economic activity. It will clearly be necessary at this plenum to also examine questions of improving economic planning, for this is a most important condition for the development of our country as a whole.

Preparation for the national conference was a serious verification of what has been achieved in all walks of social life and, of course, in the sphere of party building. It showed once again that the party is truly the pivot of the new sociopolitical system. It has grown numerically and strengthened organizationally and is rightly performing the role of society's leading force.

The PDPA currently has more than 62,000 members and candidate members united in 1,656 primary party organizations. Over 5,000 persons have been admitted as party members and approximately 13,000 as candidate members in the current year alone. Of those admitted as candidate members, workers and peasants constitute approximately 40 percent, and people from worker and peasant families constitute over 60 percent of the army. These are pretty good results. It is necessary to continue to pay constant attention to an increase in the quantitative growth of the party ranks. And an improvement in their qualitative composition is no less important. Who, primarily, should be admitted to the party? The answer is clear and simple: he who stands up in defense of the revolution and who is gaining victory with his labor and blood. We need to admit more workers, peasants, craftsmen and soldiers and sergeants of the army and the people's militia to the party. Appropriate conditions of acceptance should also probably be formulated for this.

I would like to dwell on another important problem, to which special significance is attached precisely at this stage of party building. The provincial, city, ward and district committees are now obliged to organize work on admission to the party and the assignment of party forces such that there will be party organizations at every enterprise, in every collective and in all districts and villages. It is these links that are the foundation of the party. And the party committees must pay the primary party organizations constant and ever increasing attention. Only in this way will it be possible to ensure constant and universal party influence on the masses.

The national conference was preceded by meetings and conferences in the primary party organizations, districts, wards, cities and provinces. Meetings and conferences were also held in units and subunits of the army, people's militia and security service. During this campaign, the party accumulated

considerable experience in the organizational-political work for such meetings and in the process, conferences were held for the first time. In the absolute majority of party organizations the meetings and conferences were conducted in an organized manner and with the active participation of many party members and candidate members. This strengthened and enriched the party.

Of course, there were also difficulties and shortcomings. During discussion of the first item on the agenda, that is, the results of the Central Committee Seventh Plenum and the tasks of the party organizations, the papers and speeches were inadequately tied in with reality and the questions that the organizations and committees have to tackle, proceeding from local conditions, in a number of instances. This is partly explained by the inadequate experience of our activities. But we must also discern in this the fact that many party committees are as yet tackling insufficiently specifically and purposefully the tasks confronting them. We must all draw the most serious conclusions from this and perform work more persistently on improving the style and methods of party committee activity.

Preparation for the national conference also showed that there are serious shortcomings in questions concerning the organized strengthening of the party and the inculcation of ideological conviction and party discipline. Relapses into the chronic disease--factionalism--were manifested in the course of discussion of the nomination of delegates to the higher party conferences, primarily in the army, militia and a number of ministries. Forgetting about party discipline, certain party members attempted to create an atmosphere of nervousness at the meetings and pushed the meetings in the direction of incorrect actions and a rejection of Central Committee directives concerning procedures for the election of delegates. Some even went so far as to preach the introduction of rules of rotten bourgeois "democracy" into the life of the revolutionary party. These people are manifestly echoing others' voices and are under the thumb of enemies who wish to split the party and sow uncertainty, suspicion and enmity in its ranks.

Of course, these plans are untenable. The PDPA Central Committee and all true party members will always strengthen party unity and persistently increase discipline and organization. We note with satisfaction that the incorrect actions of certain party members were repudiated by an absolute majority of organizations. I believe that it is necessary to display patience and attention toward these comrades, to talk to them and to explain to them the principles of the life of revolutionary parties and the significance of discipline and organization. But if this does not help, it will be necessary to adopt measures provided for by the statutes.

I would like to say once again: We must display patience in the name of the strengthening of party unity. We must be above petty insults. We are sure of our powers, but our tolerance of relapses into factionalism, from whatever side they originate, indiscipline and lack of organization cannot be unlimited. When this starts to damage the party and its high authority, we must put these irresponsible people, who are indifferent to the fate of the party and whose own ambitions count for more than its authority, beyond its ranks. The party will only be strengthened when it has rid itself of adventurist and irresponsible elements.

A campaign is currently under way in the party on the registration and issuing of party documents. This is an important event in its life. It is the duty of the party committees to make full use of this measure to strengthen the party and bring model order to bear in our party work.

The Central Committee Politburo, Secretariat and departments are paying great attention in their activity to the selection and assignment and training of personnel, since the workers on the party schedule are political organizers of the masses and leaders of the most important areas of work. The significance of work with personnel and the need for an improvement in personnel training have been mentioned repeatedly at Central Committee plenums and in Politburo and Secretariat decrees. Party committees are obliged to resolutely combat all distortations of the party's personnel policy, since the content of this work and its efficiency and party authority depend on it.

The success of our cause and the further development of the revolution and the defense of its gains depend to a decisive extent on the participation of the broad people's masses and their assertiveness, their support and their consciousness. This is why mass-political work as a principal direction and means of enlisting the working people and the broad people's masses, primarily the working class and peasantry, in active participation in the implementation and consolidation of revolutionary transformations and their defense is for the party and revolutionary power paramount in the ideological sphere.

The draft action program and Central Committee plenum and Politburo and Secretariat decrees formulate the basic principles and methods of mass-political and agitation-propaganda work.

There is no more important task for the party now than to convey the revolutionary party word to each inhabitant of our country, stirring all strata of the population and every Muslim to an active, conscious life. For this it is necessary to perform ideological work in a differentiated manner so that the truth of the April revolution and party policy can be conveyed to all precisely with regard for the singularities of their position, traditions, notions and views and educational and cultural levels.

At the same time, the situation demands increased struggle against the ideological sabotage of our enemies and the skillful and prompt exposure of their malicious slander and distortion of the truth concerning party and government policy.

The times in which we live require that ideological work be subordinated to the task of the masses' rise to the struggle against counterrevolution, their cohesion around the party and their increased resolve to bring the business of revolutionary transformations to a victorious conclusion.

The PDPA proceeds from the fact that the successful ongoing development of revolutionary transformations in our country is connected not only with domestic but also external conditions. For this reason, the party and the revolutionary power are endeavoring to secure the most favorable external political conditions for the realization of these transformations. This is why we need

peace. Unbending will and consistent actions in the defense and consolidation of peace in our region and throughout the world are what is fundamental and most important in the approach of the party and the revolutionary power to international affairs. This is what determines the essence of our foreign policy.

The PDPA and the DRA Government proceed in their foreign policy activity from the truth that the sovereignty and freedom of Afghanistan and the happiness and prosperity of the Afghan people may be secured only with the further strengthening and development of fraternal friendship and fruitful cooperation with the great Soviet Union. This friendship and cooperation is the cornerstone of the foreign policy of the new Afghanistan and a vitally important factor in the defense of our beloved homeland and the transformations being implemented by the April revolution.

The PDPA and the DRA Government attach exceptional importance to the extension and intensification of fraternal relations with the ruling parties, governments and peoples of the countries of the socialist community and value highly their achievements in the building of a new society. We intend to extend and develop relations of fraternal friendship and traditional cooperation with the USSR and the countries of the socialist community in the political, economic, trade, cultural, scientific-technical and other spheres as an essential condition of the fatherland's advance along the path of progress.

Our country will invariably respect and firmly observe the principles and Charter of the United Nations and intends from these standpoints to organize its relations with all countries, regardless of their political and social system, on the basis of the principles of respect for sovereignty and state independence, equality, territorial integrity, nonaggression and noninterference in one another's internal affairs.

The DRA Government confirms its invariable adherence and fidelity to the principles of the nonaligned movement, in which our country has participated since the very start of its existence as one of its founders.

Our country and our people consistently support the strengthening and development of mutually beneficial relations of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal Muslim countries and peoples in the common struggle for peace, disarmament, human rights and the progress of mankind.

The party, government and people of Afghanistan will firmly and consistently strengthen unity and solidarity with all peoples of the world in the common struggle for peace, international detente, disarmament, the banning and liquidation of nuclear weapons, the friendship of the peoples, freedom, democracy, human rights and social progress and against the forces of imperialism, aggression and reaction. We will support in every way the noble struggle of all oppressed peoples for freedom, independence and national and social progress.

Such is our approach to international problems expressed in the draft action program. It is based on principles the adherence to which our party has always proclaimed.

They are the proven and dependable principles of international solidarity, peaceful coexistence and nonalignment. From these standpoints we also approach a solution of the international problems that our fatherland currently encounters directly. We will continue the search for peaceful ways to solve them and the talks between Afghanistan and its neighbors--Pakistan and Iran. This corresponds to the fundamental long-term interests of the peoples of our countries and the peoples of the entire region.

The DRA Government and people express traditional feelings of respect and friendship for the Indian peoples. The DRA will continue to struggle consistently to strengthen and develop good-neighborly relations with this country.

The DRA rejects the policy of separate deals in the Near East and fully supports the struggle of the peoples of the Arab countries for liquidation of the consequences of imperialist and Zionist aggression.

The PDPA and the DRA Government will continue to take advantage of all opportunities in the foreign policy sphere, in the region and in the international arena, to promote detente and consolidate an atmosphere of cooperation and trust.

Adoption of the PDPA action program is a historic event in the life of our party and country. It collates the results of the path trodden by the party, contains an in-depth theoretical analysis of the current stage of the national-democratic revolution and illustrates the prospects for its extension and development. From positions of progressive revolutionary theory, the program emphasizes the directions of practical work and creates a scientific basis for a creative interpretation of our reality and for new, increasingly effective forms, methods and paths for the accomplishment of the tasks confronting us.

The adoption and consistent and full implementation of the action program will also be of great international significance. The normalization of the situation in our country and the strengthening of the revolutionary system on the basis of national-democratic transformations and the rout of the armed counter-revolution will constitute an appreciable contribution to the stabilization of the situation in the region, on the Asian continent and in the international arena as a whole. This will contribute to the creation of conditions for the consolidation of peaceful coexistence and the extension of mutually profitable cooperation, in which all peoples are interested.

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## MONOPOLIES AND POWER

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[Article by A. Kokoshin]

[Text] The bourgeois sociologists and political experts are tirelessly trying to conceal the class nature of the contemporary American state and the decisive role of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the state power organs and domestic and foreign policy. In this respect, they greatly emphasize the fact that some high officials have no visible direct relations with the financial oligarchy. Members of academic circles, professional politicians who have never engaged in private enterprise, etc, holding cabinet positions or acting as senior presidential advisers are greatly publicized. Such officials are frequently used as the "social screen" of one administration or another, whose purpose is to convince the masses that all basic population classes and strata are "equitably" represented in the government.

The convincing refutation of such elaborations by bourgeois scientists and propagandists requires a specific historical-sociological study so that individual although quite notable examples can be properly contrasted against Marxist-Leninist methodology and the overall picture.

This in particular is the purpose of the study of the basic social relations between the high executive personnel in all postwar U.S. administrations (from Truman to Reagan) and the U.S. monopoly upper crust. The study on which this article is based covered about 400 officials--vice presidents, cabinet secretaries and other ranking cabinet members (such as the executives who control White House operations or the U.S. representative to the United Nations), leading presidential assistants and U.S. envoys to the USSR, the FRG, Great Britain, France, NATO and the PRC. The author of the analysis has deliberately excluded the U.S. presidents, although extensive information exists on their personal relations with "big business." The particularly high position of the president in the political system of American imperialism requires a special study of this problem.

The study of the biographies of high officials in the executive branch of the U.S. government between 1945 and 1981 makes it possible to classify them into at least five basic categories based on the nature of their social relations with monopoly circles.



The first category consists of individuals who are direct members of the upper crust of the monopoly elite of the country. These include the owners of the greatest fortunes and stock in leading corporations, and board chairmen and presidents of corporations who also acquire fortunes quickly after their appointment to higher administrative positions.

At the beginning of the 1970's an elite greater than ever before of industrial and financial business appeared in the United States. Whereas in the postwar decades students of the structure of American monopoly capital studied the 500 largest monopolies, with increasing frequency it was a question of only 200 in the 1970's. Another universally acknowledged fact was that an oligarchic group of 50 billionaire monopolies could be singled out within this upper stratum whose share in terms of basic indicators of economic corporate power (sales, assets, capital and profits) accounted for 60 percent of the entire 200 (see I. D. Ivanov. "Characteristics of the Process of Capital Concentration and Centralization in the U.S. Economy," in the book "Problemy i Protivorechiya Amerikanskoy Ekonomiki" [Problems and Contradictions in the American Economy]. Nauka, Moscow, 1978, pp 25-26).

In combining within a single category the "classical" large entrepreneurs and highest level managers, the author proceeded from the fact that the increased role of the latter in the power mechanism of modern corporations does not mean in the least the fact that they escaped the control of capital. It is precisely in the United States that the trend toward the integration of high officials with the ruling class, with the help of an entire arsenal of material incentives, is manifested most clearly. The conversion of managers into capitalists is considered an important means for reliably guaranteeing that the interests of traditional owners and managers will be the same.

In 1980, the average annual income of each one of the 314 chairmen of the boards of the biggest American corporations exceeded \$445,000; that of the presidents of 282 corporations exceeded \$350,000; and that of 344 vice presidents, \$239,000. Of the 940 high-level American business managers, 60 earned between \$700,000 and \$2.3 million in 1980. The annual income of Clifton Garvin, chairman of the board of Exxon, was \$3.2 million in 1980, including the various bonuses and dividends from a large number of actions bought on easy terms; Milton Rosenthal, chairman of the board of Engelhard Minerals & Chemicals Corporation, earned more than \$2.3 million, etc (see U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 18 May 1981, p 81). Therefore, the top managers of the main corporations are on the same level as the biggest owners in terms of annual income. However, there is a substantial difference between the fortunes which are made by the first generation, consisting almost exclusively of annual income, and inherited fortunes acquired over several generations: the owners of the latter, although their annual income may be somewhat less (which only adds to their main fortune) are incomparably more prosperous than the former.

Actually, top managers, whose annual income equals that of traditional owners, quite rapidly accept the morality, sociopolitical concepts and stereotypes of the financial oligarchy. This becomes a very important factor when they take up political work, and even more so when they join the government.

This category includes vice president Nelson Rockefeller (in the Ford administration), a member of the Rockefeller dynasty, whose financial group controls capital totaling \$80-\$90 billion; Charles Wilson, the secretary of defense in the first Eisenhower administration, who headed (as president), until he joined the government, General Motors, the biggest automobile corporation, and who was also a member of the council of directors of the National Bank of Detroit; Neil McElroy, who replaced him in this position (in 1957, under the second Eisenhower administration), who had previously headed the Procter & Gamble company and was a member of the council of directors of General Electric and the Chrysler Corporation; this also included Robert McNamara,<sup>1</sup> who was secretary of defense in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and who had previously been president of the Ford Motor Company. Thomas Watson, appointed by President Carter as ambassador to the USSR (in 1979-1980), had previously headed the International Business Machines corporation and had been a member of the board of Pan American World Airways, Time Inc., the Bankers Trust Company, etc.

The second category includes entrepreneurs and managers who are not part of the monopolistic "creme de la creme," but who are members of the boards of the biggest corporations, hold the second or third most powerful positions among the leading stockholders or managers of the "first 50" corporations or who have headed at some point in their careers "second echelon" corporations (within the leading 200-500 companies). Let us cite as examples in this case Nixon's special presidential assistant for foreign economic policy and subsequently secretary of commerce in Nixon's administration Peter Peterson, who had previously been the president of Chicago's Bell & Howell Company and member of the board of Illinois Bell Telephone and the First National Bank of Chicago; Michael Blumenthal, secretary of the treasury in the Carter Administration, who had previously held the position of president of the Bendix Corporation and had been a member of the council of directors of the Equitable Life Assurance Company, one of the biggest insurance companies in the United States. As a rule, this category is distinguished by its greater mobility, compared with the first group, in moving from one corporation to another and between the private sector and the government. For example, along with holding high positions in big business, before his appointment as secretary of the treasury, Blumenthal had been deputy special representative of the president of the United States at international trade talks (within the framework of the GATT) and deputy secretary of state for economic problems. Caspar Weinberger, secretary of defense in the Reagan administration, was previously one of the heads of the Bechtel group conglomerate,<sup>2</sup> secretary of health, education and welfare in the Nixon administration, and deputy director and director of the Office of Management and the Budget; he has also been chairman of the Federal Trade Commission and finance director in the state of California. George Romney, who was the head of the American Motors company and member of the board of directors of the Douglas Aircraft company, was governor of the state of Michigan before becoming secretary of housing and urban development in the Nixon administration. After completing their service in high government positions and having enhanced their social and property status, some officials in this category move up to the very peak of the business world (which represents a very important incentive for their work in the government). For example, after a stint in the Nixon administration, Peter Peterson became chairman of the board of Lehman Brothers.

The third category consists of the so-called "super lawyers," whose main occupation, when out of the government, is to represent the interests of the biggest corporations and individual owners. One of the main functions of the "super lawyers" is making possible the legal and semilegal avoidance of taxes by their clients by finding and using loopholes in the tax legislation.

The importance of the work done by lawyers for the corporations and rich individuals can be gauged by the amount of taxes they fail to pay to the state. Thus, according to the Congressional Budget Office, income losses in the 1979 fiscal year were assessed at \$136 billion, or 20 percent of the entire federal budget. Such losses may reach \$188 billion in the 1983 fiscal year (see "Five-Year Budget Projections. Fiscal Years 1979-1983. Supplement on Tax Expenditures. Congress of the United States, Congressional Budget Office," Washington, 1978, p IX).

Thanks to such services, the annual fees of the "super lawyers" may reach impressive amounts, similar to the incomes of the managers of the biggest monopolies. Furthermore, many of them are also members of the boards of several corporations. As a rule, however, such activities are not sufficient to absorb as much energy as their work as lawyers for big business. The special role which the lawyers play in the U.S. political system and in safeguarding the interests of the monopolies in the government is largely determined by the important and almost universal role of the law in U.S. economic and political life and in the arsenal of instruments of government activities. This circumstance must be taken into consideration in assessing the shifting of specific individuals among a great variety of positions which seem to have nothing in common on the surface.

Noted representatives of this group include Cyrus Vance, who was Carter's secretary of state and who had previously been a partner in the New York legal firm of Simpson, Thatcher and Bartlett, whose clients included Lehman Brothers, Morgan's Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company and many other companies at the very top of big business; before joining the Carter administration, Vance was also a member of the board of International Business Machines, the Etna Life and Casualty Company, Pan American World Airways and the New York Times Company.

Clark Clifford, a partner in the Washington firm of Clifford and Miller, whose customers included the General Electric Company and the du Pont family, and who was secretary of defense (in the final year of the Johnson administration), has had a similar career. This category also includes William Casey, the director of the CIA in the Reagan administration, who practiced financial law for many years in the New York firms of Hall, Casey, Tickler and Howly and Rogers and Walls, and the Washington firm of Scribner, Hall, Casey, Thornberg and Thompson. W. Casey was also a big stock exchange speculator and engaged in entrepreneurial activities which enabled him to accumulate a substantial fortune. At that time he was teaching tax law at New York University.

Many "super lawyers" are most closely related to members of the financial oligarchy.

Even more frequently than the second category officials, the "super lawyers" "commute" between the government and private law practice. Cyrus Vance in particular, before he was appointed secretary of state, alternated between the practice of law and the holding of governmental positions such as deputy secretary of defense, secretary of the army, and general counsel of the Department of Defense. Elliott Richardson, the attorney general in the Nixon administration (in 1973) had been a partner in the Ropes and Grey legal firm in Boston and had held the positions of secretary of defense, secretary of health, education and welfare, deputy secretary of state, attorney general of the state of Massachusetts, vice governor of the state of Massachusetts, etc. After World War II, W. Casey was special legal counsel of the U.S. Congress, assistant general council of the American mission in Paris in charge of the Marshall Plan, etc. In the Nixon administration, W. Casey was chairman of the Regulatory Securities Commission, deputy secretary of state for economic affairs and head of the Federal Export-Import Bank. As members of the government, the "super lawyers" know that their return to the law firm is virtually guaranteed and that they acquire the right to earn even higher fees (unless some of them, while members of the government, are undone by big cases such as Watergate).

It is also noteworthy that in recent years many "super lawyers" have become involved with increasing frequency in representing foreign clients in Washington. Thus, the well-known legal firm of Hogan and Hartson, whose senior partner is W. Fulbright, formerly chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and many former high government executives, represents the interests of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. One of the most noted Washington lobbyists for Saudi Arabia is Frederick Dutton, former assistant to President Kennedy and deputy secretary of state (in the first half of 1977 alone, his fees totaled \$270,000).

The fourth category is that of professional politicians who are not members of the boards of big corporations and have no guaranteed positions in prestigious law firms. However, all of them have a firm circle of friends among big and average businessmen who act as important "donors" in their electoral campaigns. Many political leaders belonging to this category are also related by blood to members of business circles.

Before the members of this category assume high positions in the executive branch of the government, they usually undergo a long period of training in elective positions in the Senate or the House of Representatives in the U.S. Congress, as state governors, mayors of big cities, etc. Melvin Laird, secretary of defense in the Nixon administration, is an example. From 1953 to 1969 he was a congressman from Wisconsin. Before that he had been a member of the legislative assembly of that state. Before he became secretary of defense, Laird's experience in private enterprise was limited to holding a job in a small company. However, he had married a member of a rich business family and his fortune at that time was estimated at \$1 million; for many years he had been a close friend of E. Ebell, a big magnate who was managing the property of the du Ponts in Florida, worth more than \$1 billion. Robert Berglund, secretary of agriculture in the Carter administration, had been previously a congressman from Minnesota and a senior official in the U.S. department of agriculture. Although not a member of the richest strata in

American society, Berglund nevertheless was far from poor: at that time his family owned a 600-acre farm.

The fifth category is that of scientists in the natural and social sciences, recruited for political activities. The members of this group assume high government positions, as a rule directly on the recommendation of noted members of the financial oligarchy. They alternate between their scientific careers and government, in the course of which they establish even closer personal and business relations with big business leaders. Thus, the main "maker" of Nixon's and Ford's administration policy, Harvard professor Henry Kissinger, who was presidential national security adviser and secretary of state, had been recommended to Nixon by Nelson Rockefeller in 1969, while Zb. Brzezinski, presidential national security adviser in the Carter administration, had previously been professor at Columbia University and had assumed his position with the government on the recommendation of David Rockefeller, who had been his patron for many years. James Schlesinger is an example of a member of academic circles who gained extensive practical experience in government before his appointment to higher administrative positions. Known for his research at the University of Virginia and the Rand Corporation in California, before his appointment as secretary of defense in the Nixon administration (after Laird), Schlesinger had held the position of deputy director of the Office of Management and the Budget, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and, for a few months, director of the Central Intelligence Agency. In the Carter administration, Schlesinger was appointed to the then-created position of presidential assistant for energy. In the brief interval between his two cabinet positions (he was replaced as defense secretary by Ford, who replaced R. Nixon), Schlesinger managed to become a director of the big Corning Glassworks Company, closely linked with Rockefeller family interests.

The aspiration to join big business one way or another is shared by virtually all members of this category. After leaving the government, H. Kissinger became the highly paid head of the Foreign Investments Council of Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank. Harold Brown, secretary of defense in the Carter administration and former professor of physics at CIT, had been appointed member of the council of directors of IBM, Beekman Instruments Inc., the British Times-Mirror Company and Schroeders Ltd., even before taking his position in the government. Juanita Kreps, secretary of commerce in the Carter administration, had a similar career. Before her government position she had been assistant dean and professor of economics at Duke University and member of the board of the North Carolina National Bank, Eastman Kodak, Reynolds Industries, etc.

Let us point out that the nature of the social relations maintained by one or another government official does not determine in the least by itself his political views, not to mention specific political activities. The establishment of political groups and the attitude toward one foreign or domestic political problem or another are determined by a more complex combination of factors. Furthermore, political differences are secondary or even tertiary in terms of the common objective, which is to support the basic class interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie through state activities. Therefore, we should not oversimplify the picture and ascribe the political behavior of one or

another official merely as representing the interests of one corporation or monopoly group or another with which he has financial and social ties. One of the clearest examples of this is the considerable differences existing on problems of foreign policy priorities of the United States, and the ratio of ways and means used in American foreign policy, between H. Kissinger and Z. Brzezinski, whose patrons are the heads of the Rockefeller dynasty. It would be equally unjustified, for example, to describe as "hawkish" a government official on the basis of his closeness with the nucleus of the financial oligarchy. Quite frequently it is the opposite that is noted here: the less secure in the monopoly peaks one or another official feels, the more "orthodox" and rigid supporter of the "free enterprise system" he is in domestic and international affairs.

Not all appointees holding high positions in the various U.S. administrations fall under this classification. Occasionally, such positions are held by people who have no obvious ties with big business. This applies to professional military or so-called "career" diplomats (such as Walter Stessel, former ambassador to the USSR and the FRG and deputy secretary of state in the Reagan administration), former union leaders (such as L. Woodcock, appointed by Carter as head of the "liaison mission" to Beijing, after having been president of the United Auto Workers), and others. However, more than 90 percent of the overwhelming majority of high "appointees" serving any American administration (including vice presidents) belong to one of these five categories.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. As president of Ford Motors, McNamara's salary was \$400,000 per year. His stock in the corporation was worth \$1.5 million. This must be multiplied by a factor of 3 or 3.5 in terms of 1981 dollars. The annual salary of the secretary of defense at that time was \$25,000, i.e., about \$80,000 in terms of today's rate (see S. Opatowsky, "The Kennedy Government," New York, 1961, p 74).
2. The Bechtel Company is a monopoly which maintains the closest possible steady personal relations with the country's political leadership, including members of the foreign policy elite. In recent years, in addition to Weinberger, high Bechtel administrators have included John McCone, former CIA director and head of the Atomic Energy Commission; Parker Hart, former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia; George Shultz, former secretary of the treasury; Richard Helms, former CIA director and U.S. ambassador to Iran; and others. Various government committees have included Steve Bechtel, the founder of the company, and his son Steve Bechtel, Jr., who is the present head of the conglomerate (see "Everybody's Business. An Almanac. The Irreverent Guide to Corporate America." Edited by M. Moskowitz, M. Katz and R. Levering. San Francisco, 1980, p 860).

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## OUTSTANDING PAGE IN THE RUSSIAN LABOR MOVEMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 82 pp 113-115

[Review by Prof Yu. Pankov of the book "Rabochiy Klass v Pervoy Rossiyskoy Revolyutsii 1905-1907 Gg." [The Working Class in the First Russian Revolution of 1905-1907]. Nauka, Moscow, 1981, 432 pp. Authors: V. I. Bovykin (responsible editor), G. M. Derenkovskiy, A. P. Korelin, I. M. Pushkareva, L. T. Senchakova, S. V. Tyutyukin and V. V. Shelokhayev. This book is part of the series "History of the USSR Working Class." Editors in chief of the series: S. S. Khromov, A. L. Narochnitskiy, L. S. Gaponenko, A. V. Mitrofanova, V. G. Shorin and I. M. Nekrasova]

[Text] The role of the working class in the contemporary world is one of the main problems in the sharp confrontation between the two opposite ideologies--socialist and bourgeois. The bourgeois and revisionist ideologues are trying to refute the basic Marxist-Leninist idea of the working class as a dominant revolutionary force today, which has been called upon to head the struggle for a revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism by virtue of its objective status in bourgeois society.

For example, the concept of the "deproletarization" of the working class and its "breakdown" into several unrelated groups has become widespread in contemporary bourgeois and reformist historiography. Its authors erroneously interpret and frequently deliberately misrepresent the changes which are taking place under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution in the sectorial and professional structure of the working class, its educational standard and material living conditions. They claim that the modern workers have allegedly lost the features of a proletarian status. Such misrepresentations come close to the Maoist claims that the working class has become "bourgeoisified" and has lost its former revolutionism.

In this connection, studies in the history of the workers movement in which, as L. I. Brezhnev said in his "Vospominaniya" [Reminiscences], the working class rises in its entire greatness as "powerful, monolithic and truly revolutionary," assume special political relevance and scientific significance. This need is filled by the book under review. The need for a major work on the history of the heroic struggle waged by the Russian working class against autocracy at that time was felt a long time ago. Life called for summing up the results of the work of several generations of Soviet historians on the study of the 1905-1907 revolution as a whole and of the workers movement

during that period, to synthesize the material brought to light and the conclusions and summations based on it, and to earmark the basic lines of further research. It was precisely this assignment that was given to the scientists working in the leading scientific institution in the field of domestic history--the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of USSR History. We are fully justified in saying that the authors have successfully met this assignment after many years of work.

This is a basic summing-up work which, while based on the achievements of Soviet historiography in this area, is truly original. This applies mainly to its ideological and theoretical content, new factual data and conclusions and summations. The picture of the labor movement in Russia in 1905-1907 is painted in its dynamics, variety and colors as a structural component of the global revolutionary process at the turn of the 20th century.

One of the qualities of the work is the extensive use by the authors of Lenin's scientific-theoretical and historical legacy. V. I. Lenin was not only the leader of the Bolshevik Party, which headed the struggle of the Russian proletariat in the 1905-1907 revolution, but its first and most profound researcher and historiographer. Lenin's numerous works comprehensively describe the nature, characteristics and motive forces of the revolution and the foundations of the strategy and tactics of the proletariat and its vanguard, the Bolshevik Party. They provide a clear class description of its opponents and sharply criticize the opportunistic policy of petit-bourgeois parties.

These Leninist ideas run throughout the book under review. By creatively applying V. I. Lenin's methodological principles of historical analysis, the authors have successfully resolved complex problems of the theory and history of the hegemony of the Russian proletariat in the revolution. The leadership which the Bolshevik Party provided in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and its mobilizing and inspiring role in the revolution and its ideological-political and organizational influence on the revolutionary process are described on the basis of extensive factual data. The authors convincingly describe the development of the revolution with the social, political and moral growth of the proletariat as a hegemonistic class, the way the proletariat itself strengthened and matured in the course of revolutionary battles and the growth and tempering of the Leninist party.

The different parts of the book are closely interrelated and aimed at presenting its main idea--the hegemony of the working class and the revolution. At the same time, the individual chapters offer entirely separate studies of a vast amount of historical data.

The introduction covers the basic stages in the development of Soviet historiography of the first Russian revolution and the role which the proletariat played in it. The process of mastering the Leninist concept of the revolutionary process of 1905-1907 by Marxist historians is described. The bourgeois falsifiers are substantively criticized and the sources on the history of the Russian proletariat during that time are characterized.

The first chapter is an analysis of the historical prerequisites for the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia (the condition of the country's economy



at the turn of the century, the features of its agrarian structure and the place of the proletariat in the social structure). The refined numerical strength of the different professional detachments of the working class is a new feature. Great attention is paid to the ideological and political growth of the proletariat on the eve of the revolution and the establishment of proletarian hegemony. The chapter describes the directions of the ideological and political structure in the labor movement and the main political parties operating among the proletariat in the central areas of Russia and in its national outlying areas. It provides a class assessment of the political opponents of the proletariat--the autocracy and the bourgeoisie--and exposes the antinational nature of their policy.

The second chapter, which is entitled "The Proletariat--The Pioneer of the People's Revolution," chronologically covers the first 3 months of 1905. Against a broad historical background it describes the mechanism of the growth of the revolutionary crisis into a revolution. A detailed study is provided of the events at the beginning of January 1905, which were the last drop which made the cup of the people's patience overflow. The start of the broad striking movement by railroad workers, the appearance of mass workers organizations, such as trade unions and councils of representatives, etc, are described.

The third chapter deals with the labor movement in the spring and summer of 1905. It describes the way the Bolshevik Party, armed with the resolutions of the Third RSDWP Congress, engaged in ideological-political and organizational work for the organization of a mass strike movement by the proletariat. It shows the way the mass political strike, which was born in the flames of the revolution, developed into an armed struggle against autocracy. A description is given of the appearance and activities of the first all-city soviets of workers deputies in Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Kostroma.

The two chapters which follow deal with the period of the peak revolutionary upsurge (October-December 1905). Here the authors focus on interpreting the nature of the all-Russian October political strike and December armed uprisings and the mass heroism and combat spirit of the proletariat. The parts which describe the alliance between the working class and the urban revolutionary democracy in October 1905 and the support which the peasantry gave the proletariat are of great interest. The part on the December armed uprising in Moscow perfectly illustrates Lenin's thought that "the proletariat's December struggle was the kind of legacy left to the people which can act as an ideological and political beacon guiding the work of several generations" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 19, p 215). The authors substantively refute the fabrications of bourgeois authors on the allegedly predetermined doom of the rebels. They emphasize the creative nature of the approach adopted by the bolsheviks toward the problem of the uprising and note the appearance of new forms of armed struggle such as combining fights at the barricades with guerrilla warfare. A study is provided of the reasons for the defeat of the December armed uprisings in Moscow and many other parts of the country. The authors bring to light the essential differences in the approaches taken by bolsheviks and mensheviks, Plekhanov in particular, regarding the lessons of the December 1905 events.

The results of the ideological and political growth of the proletariat in the period of the highest revolutionary upsurge are summed up in Chapter 6.

With the help of vivid examples the growth of the organization and consciousness of the working class and the conversion of the Bolshevik Party into a mass party are described. In assessing the influence of the bolsheviks on the development of the revolution, Lenin wrote: "In the spring of 1905 our party was an association of clandestine circles. In the autumn it became the party of millions of proletarians" (ibid, Vol 17, p 145). The status of the trade unions and the soviets in October-December 1905 is analyzed, and interesting data on the beginning of the shaping of a new revolutionary proletarian morality are given in the chapter.

The last two chapters deal with the period of the retreat of the revolution (1906-1907). For a long time, the history of the labor movement at the lowest point of the revolution had been insufficiently studied by Soviet historiography. Some positive changes have been made now in this respect which enable us to understand more broadly the scope of the rearguard battles waged by the proletariat and its repeated attempts to stop the retreat of the revolution and mount a new offensive against the czarist government.

The expanded conclusion included in the book on the results, lessons and universal-historical significance of the struggle waged by the working class in Russia in the 1905-1907 revolution deserves a positive assessment. It shows specifically what the revolution contributed to the working class in terms of improving its economic and legal status and the way its class self-awareness rose in the course of the revolution. Lenin's view on the 1905-1907 revolution as the dress rehearsal for the October Revolution is explained in detail and comprehensively. There is a particularly good description of the role of party cadres, which were trained by the revolutionary battles of 1905, in the period of preparations for and making the Great October Socialist Revolution. The authors accurately emphasize that the three Russian revolutions bound together precisely this truly remarkable generation of fighters of 1905, who shared with the revolutionary youth their practical experience and theoretical knowledge, unbreakable optimism and faith in the great power of the working class.

The part on the international response to the events of the first Russian revolution and the influence which it had on the labor movement in the developed capitalist countries and the national liberation movement in Oriental countries is very interesting. The convincing conclusion is drawn that the 1905-1907 revolution assigned to Russia the honorable and responsible role of being the center of the international revolutionary movement. One of the manifestations of the vanguard role of the Russian proletariat in the global movement for democracy and socialism, as the authors justifiably note, was Lenin's outstanding contribution to the defense and creative development of Marxism.

Therefore, the historiography of the Russian working class has been enriched with yet another major work worthy of approval. However, this generally successful study suffers from some shortcomings, as follows.

The very title of the book shows that it concentrates on the study of the leading role of the working class in the first bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia. Naturally, the participation in the revolution of the peasantry,

the urban middle strata, the army and the oppressed peoples should be studied as separate topics, most closely linked with the leading influence of the working class on the broad nonproletarian toiling strata. This makes us think of the expediency of writing a fundamental summing-up work on the history of the 1905-1907 revolution which would cover all the currents of the liberation movement quite extensively.

The authors have naturally and legitimately focused their efforts on the study and interpretation of the positive experience gained from the revolutionary struggle waged by the proletariat and the leading activities of the Bolshevik Party. However, in the interests of science and contemporary revolutionary practice, greater attention should have been paid to a description of the difficulties of the revolutionary struggle and its weak sides and errors. Unfortunately, in this area the authors do not go beyond familiar interpretations.

As far as prospects for further work on this problem are concerned, obviously it would be useful to write a special historiographic work covering all its aspects, which would provide a fundamental critical analysis of foreign historiography as well. What the book under review has accomplished in this respect is merely the beginning of such a work, which has been necessary for some time. Research must also be continued in the areas of statistics of the striking movement, the size of the trade unions and so on.

In conclusion, let us note once again the value of this new basic work which describes the Russian proletariat as the hegemon of all working and exploited people, as a fighting and internationalist class and the bearer of lofty democratic and socialist ideals. The experience acquired by this class in the revolutionary struggle remains relevant today, when the international working class, the working class in the socialist countries above all, is heading the struggle of all anti-imperialist forces for peace, democracy and socialism.

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## ON THE EVE OF THE GREAT TRIAL

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 82 pp 116-117

[Review by P. Zhilin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, of the book "Pered Velikim Ispytaniyem. Vneshnyaya Politika SSSR Nakanune Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voyny. Sentyabr' 1939 g.-Iyun' 1941 g." [On the Eve of the Great Trial. USSR Foreign Policy on the Eve of the Great Patriotic War. September 1939-June 1941] by P. P. Sevost'yanov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 367 pp]

[Text] USSR foreign policy and international relations on the eve of the Great Patriotic War remain a topic of extensive study by Soviet historians. The monograph by Prof P. P. Sevost'yanov, which came out in 1981, is one more study of this very complex period in the history of the Soviet state, a period of less than 2 years which separated the Soviet people from the bloodiest and most destructive war in the history of mankind. Based on new documentary data and the study of numerous sources, the monograph extensively describes the ways and means of the struggle waged by Soviet diplomacy for securing and for acquiring better foreign conditions for the building of socialism and strengthening USSR defense capability.

The policy pursued by the Soviet state started on the first day of World War II was the only possible one given the historical circumstances. It was consistent not only with the vital interests of the Soviet people but the basic interests of the peoples of the other countries.

The objective fact that the imperialist coalition of aggressive countries, headed by fascist Germany, was able to undermine the existing international structure by the force of arms, largely reorganize intergovernmental relations in a suitable manner and strengthen its positions in the capitalist part of the world is of essential importance in assessing the full extent of the difficulties which defined the position of the USSR between 1939 and 1941. Thus, by the summer of 1941 Hitlerite Germany had conquered 11 countries. As a result, the total territory under its control had expanded by a factor of 6 compared with the beginning of the war. Militaristic Japan, Germany's ally, had occupied vast areas of central and southern China and, subsequently, South-east Asia.

The Soviet-German nonaggression pact was not a guarantee against dangerous military provocations on the part of Germany to the detriment of Soviet interests. As early as August 1939, the chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars and people's commissar of foreign affairs emphasized at the extraordinary fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet that the Soviet-German nonaggression treaty "should not lower our vigilance."

The monograph describes against a broad historical background the intensive struggle waged by the Soviet state and its diplomatic service between 1939 and 1941 for preparing the country for the attack prepared against it by Hitlerite Germany. It traces the basic directions and specifics of the foreign political activities of the USSR in the initial period of World War II.

Decisively rejecting Hitler's plans for the division of the world and pursuing a flexible and principled foreign policy in a most complex historical period, the Soviet Union was able to take substantial steps to strengthen its security and to weaken to a certain extent fascist Germany's political and strategic positions.

The USSR was the only country which was able to limit the spread of fascism in Europe during the first stage of World War II. During that period Soviet diplomacy was able to lay the initial prerequisites for the creation of an anti-Hitlerite coalition.

The prehistory of World War II shows that one must struggle against war before it has begun. The division and weakness of the peace-loving forces in the West and in Germany itself enabled the Hitlerites to start a war. Today this fact is an instructive lesson to the peoples of the world. It calls upon all progressive forces to unite and extensively oppose military preparations made by the leading imperialist states.

Soviet foreign policy activities on the eve of the Great Patriotic War are extensively covered in this work, which enables us to realize better the far-sightedness of the current policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state in countering the attempts of the United States and a number of NATO countries to assist the course inimical to the USSR pursued by the Beijing leadership by supplying China with military ordnance, armaments and military technology, and encouraging its territorial aspirations and hegemonistic desires. In this connection, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out that "the hope of using a stronger Beijing regime as a tool of NATO policy and channeling its militaristic aspirations in a direction suitable to the West is...no more than arrogant naivete. Suffice it to recall the outcome to the Western countries of that same Munich policy. Are the lessons of history so quickly forgotten?"

The entire content of the monograph brings to mind the danger of the policy of encouraging and urging on aggressive forces against the USSR and playing a different kind of "anti-Soviet card" for this purpose. A similar imperialist strategy has already proved to be catastrophic to its makers.

This work provides a solution to the important and topical scientific problem of the study and summation of factual data covering one of the most important periods of Soviet foreign policy activities.

The book discusses relatively unstudied problems such as relations between the USSR, on the one hand, and Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, on the other, at the beginning of World War II. An unquestionable merit of the work is also the fact that, for the first time, it provides us with a comprehensive study of relations between the USSR and the two hostile imperialist groups of countries and virtually all active participants in the international events of 1939-41, whose activities were of essential importance in securing the safety of the peoples and the defense capability of the Soviet state.

The author exposes bourgeois falsifications of the history of Soviet diplomacy at the initial period of World War II and describes the Leninist peaceful foreign policy of the USSR in action and its lofty principles, tasks and methods.

He emphasizes that the safeguard of peace has remained the foreign political objective of our party and state both then and now. Bearing in mind the lessons of World War II, the Soviet Union spares no efforts in the struggle to prevent a repetition of the tragedy of the past. It is fully resolved to do everything possible to eliminate war from the life of mankind once and for all.

The scientific and the entire reading public in our country will welcome with unquestionable interest this topical monograph which is a noteworthy contribution to Soviet historical science.

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## HEROIC HISTORY OF THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST PARTY

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[Review by S. Afonin of the book "Boyevoy Avangard V'yetnamsogo Naroda. Istoriya Kommunisticheskoy Partii V'yetnama" [Battle Vanguard of the Vietnamese People. History of the Communist Party of Vietnam]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, 296 pp]

[Text] The count of the new period in Vietnam began on 3 February 1930, when the first communist groups united to form a party which assumed the mission of organizing the struggle of the people for social and national liberation. The country's fate radically changed during the decades which followed. From a former colony Vietnam became a sovereign, independent and free state in which the power belongs to the working people. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam--the main achievement of the working people--became possible above all thanks to the leadership of the communist party, which inspired all the victories of the Vietnamese revolution. The book under review, which was published by Politizdat at the end of last year, describes the heroic path of the Vietnamese communists and the great history of the CPV.

The collection includes excerpts from articles by Ho Chi Minh, the outstanding leader of the international communist and national liberation movements and leader of the Vietnamese revolution, on the universal-historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution, an extensive study of the semicentennial history of the CPV, drafted by the CC CPV Commission on the Study of Party History, and the report of Le Duan, CC CPV general secretary, delivered at the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the CPV.

The readers will find a detailed description of the most important events of the Vietnamese revolution and a detailed analysis of its individual stages. The authors have used a great deal of new information and have noticeably enriched the factual materials, a considerable percentage of which is new to the Soviet readership.

"The working class and the entire people of Vietnam are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of Lenin's statements and the lessons of the October Revolution...", Ho Chi Minh emphasized, noting above all the importance of factors in the victory of the revolution such as the leadership provided by a truly revolutionary party of the working class, its creative use of

Marxism-Leninism under the specific conditions of its country, the establishment of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the unification of all revolutionary and progressive forces in a broad front, the precise definition of the forms of revolutionary struggle, the strengthening of proletarian dictatorship, revolutionary resolve and the close combination of patriotism with proletarian internationalism. It is precisely these Leninist concepts that guided CPV activities.

The collection traces the process of the creation of the Vietnamese Communist Party. It provides a scientific study of the reasons which brought about its founding. This was "a historical necessity, a vital need of the working class, the working people, the entire Vietnamese nation" (p 14).

We cannot remain indifferent when we read about the activities of Ho Chi Minh, the first Vietnamese communist. Under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia and Lenin's doctrine and as a result of seeking ways for the liberation of his people, he reached the only proper conclusion, that proletarian revolution was the only way leading to the salvation of the homeland and the liberation of the nation. Only socialism can free from slavery oppressed peoples and working people the world over (see p 21).

Whereas at the time of its founding the CPV (subsequently renamed Communist Party of Indochina) had 211 members, by March 1931 its membership had grown to 2,400. This was a period of tempestuous revolutionary upsurge. The first organs of the people's regime, constituted as soviets, were created in Nghe An and Ha Tinh Provinces. "On the basis of specific steps taken by the soviets, the people realized that it was only by overthrowing the power of the imperialists and their stooges and only when the working people could become the masters of their fate that they would be able to resolve their vital problems" (p 35).

The French colonizers drowned this revolutionary movement in blood. The leading party organs were crushed. Thousands of cadre revolutionaries, communists and patriots were arrested, thrown in jail, sentenced to hard labor or killed. The characters of courageous fighters such as Chan Phu, Ngo Da Thi, Nguyen Byk Can, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Van Ky and other heroes, who were examples of inflexible will and firmness, come alive in the book.

A new upsurge in the revolutionary wave in Vietnam took place between 1936 and 1939. Armed with the resolutions of the Seventh Comintern Congress, the party engaged in active efforts for the creation of an anti-imperialist popular front of Indochina. "...Millions of workers, peasants and other population strata were raised and organized in the spirit of the party's revolutionary line at that time" (p 47). During that period the Communist Party of Indochina greatly enriched its arsenal of means and methods of work.

The Vietnamese revolution underwent many trials. Some of the most difficult were during World War II. After Hitlerite troops occupied France, the Japanese militarists used the event for an attack on Indochina. The Vietnamese people rose to the struggle against both the new and the old colonizers.

The May 1941 Central Committee Plenum became an important milestone. Its proceedings were guided by Ho Chi Minh, who had returned to his homeland after



30 years of foreign exile. The plenum formulated as the main task the question of national liberation, earmarked the main directions leading to the unification of anti-imperialist forces in a single national Vietminh front and earmarked the way to a general uprising through local armed uprisings (see p 52). The participants in the plenum pointed out the real threat of an attack on the Soviet Union by Hitlerite Germany and expressed their confidence in the final victory of the first socialist state in the world.

The Vietnamese communists and all working people closely followed the course of the battles fought by the Soviet people against fascism. "Starting in 1943, as a result of the tremendous victories won by the Soviet Union at the Stalingrad and other fronts, the course of World War II changed radically. The fate of the German-Italian-Japanese fascist coalition was sealed. The favorable moment for raising the oppressed peoples to the struggle was approaching," we read in the book (p 53).

The historical 1945 came. The collection emphasizes the greatness of the Soviet exploit and discusses the importance of this event in the struggle waged by the Vietnamese patriots. "...The news of the surrender of Japan was like a vivifying wind for the revolutionary flame which was raging among all population strata..." (p 59). By that time the Communist Party of Indochina had been able to provide the political, ideological and organizational prerequisites for the uprising. The party conference, which was held in the middle of August, and the national congress of people's representatives called the people to decisive battle. A wave of uprisings spread throughout the country. The August revolution won. On 2 September, on behalf of the provisional government, Ho Chi Minh read the declaration of independence, which announced to the Vietnamese people and the entire world the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. "The victory of the August revolution inaugurated a new era for our country--the era of independence, freedom and socialism. For the first time in Vietnamese history, the people became the masters of their country and their fate" (p 64).

Between 1945 and 1954, when the war of resistance against the aggression of the French colonizers was fought, the party honorably fulfilled its role as the organizer and inspirer of this struggle for the preservation of the revolutionary gains. The establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in January 1950 was of great importance in strengthening the international positions of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Second Communist Party of Indochina Congress was held in 1951. It set as the main task the winning of a full victory in the war of resistance (see p 89). The congress decided that the party was to assume a legal status and was to be renamed the Lao Dong Party. It adopted bylaws and elected a Central Committee, Politburo and Secretariat. Ho Chi Minh was elected party chairman and Chyong Dinh was appointed general secretary. "As to Laos and Kampuchea, the congress decided to organize in each one of them separate revolutionary parties based on their specific characteristics" (pp 89-90).

The party organized energetic work along all the fighting and construction fronts. Despite the active aid which the U.S. imperialists gave to them,

the French colonizers suffered one defeat after another. The battle for Dien-bienphu, which was fought in the spring of 1954 and ended in a brilliant victory won by the armed forces of the DRV, was decisive. In July of that year the Indochina Accords were concluded in Geneva.

A new stage began in the country's life and the party's activities. North Vietnam, in which a people's democratic revolution had been essentially completed and the transition to a socialist revolution had begun, was entirely free. A national people's democratic revolution lay ahead in South Vietnam, where American imperialists were gradually pushing out the French colonizers (see p 102). This period (1954-1975) is most extensively described in the collection.

In a period of several years after the end of the war, socialist production relations were established and essentially the exploitation of man by man was eliminated in North Vietnam. The mixed economy was converted into a single socialist and semisocialist economy. During the same period, a cruel and openly fascist system was set up in the southern part of the country by the United States and its puppets. Here 466,000 communists and patriots were arrested, 400,000 people were exiled and 68,000 were killed from 1954 to 1959 (see p 113).

The 15th Central Committee Plenum, which was held in January 1959, indicated that the basic task of the revolution in South Vietnam was the liberation of the south from imperialist and feudal domination.

The Third Lao Dong Congress (September 1960) was a major political event. Ho Chi Minh said at its inauguration that "this congress is a congress of the building of socialism in North Vietnam and the struggle for the peaceful unification of the country" (pp 120-121). The congress formulated the directions and tasks of the First Five-Year Plan for the development of the economy and culture on the way to socialism (1961-1965), charted a course of strengthening the Lao Dong party ranks and adopted new bylaws which stated that "the party of the Vietnamese working people is the party of the Vietnamese working class, the organized vanguard and highest form of organization of the working class."

The congress elected a new Central Committee, Politburo and Secretariat. Ho Chi Minh was reelected Central Committee chairman and Le Duan became Central Committee first secretary.

The party of the Vietnamese communists engaged in comprehensive and intensive activities during the period when the foundations of socialism were being laid in the north, while the armed struggle was increasing in the south.

The creative opportunities and experience of the party of the Vietnamese communists, which successfully combined all forms of struggle, became fully apparent in the period of repelling American imperialist aggression. "Bearing in mind the extremely serious situation of the country and the exceptionally complex international situation, our party proved itself to be a wise, tempered and independent leader, loyal to proletariat internationalism," Le Duan pointed out (p 249).

In the war of resistance against U.S. aggression, the Vietnamese people displayed true heroism, which was admired by the entire progressive world. These recent events are still fresh in the memory of those who followed the courageous Vietnamese epic. Victory was hammered out in the course of fierce battles. In accordance with Ho Chi Minh's legacy, the Lao Dong Party firmly led the Vietnamese people toward their goal. The country was entirely liberated in the spring of 1975, and the 30-year national-liberation war fought by the Vietnamese people ended. "The victory of Vietnam was also a major victory for the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism the world over," the collection emphasizes (p 200).

Reunification made Vietnam even stronger. Favorable prerequisites were created for the enhancement of its economy and culture and for strengthening its defense. The country was renamed Socialist Republic of Vietnam by National Assembly decision in June 1976.

The general course of the socialist revolution in Vietnam was ratified at the fourth party congress (December 1976). It was attended by more than 1,000 delegates representing in excess of 1.5 million party members. The congress decided to rename the Lao Dong Party the Communist Party of Vietnam. Le Duan was elected CPV Central Committee general secretary.

The congress' resolution on the basic directions and objectives of the Second Five-Year Plan (1976-1980) stressed the importance of implementing two main tasks: the gradual laying of the material and technical foundations for socialism and the establishment of a new economic structure, and the gradual enhancement of the material and cultural standards of the working people (see p 213).

"A direct transition from an economy based on small-scale production to socialism is a new historical phenomenon," Le Duan pointed out (p 258). During the new stage the VCP increased the theoretical elaboration of problems of socialist construction under the specific conditions of its country and on the basis of the objective laws governing economic and social development. "In order to master these objective laws," we read, "we must sum up the experience of the building of socialism in our country, make a serious study of the experience of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, and understand the laws of development from small-scale production to capitalism, the laws of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism and the laws governing the development of the socialist society" (p 259).

After long and destructive wars, the Vietnamese people gained the long-awaited peace and the possibility of engaging in constructive toil. "However, the imperialists and international reaction are unwilling to see Vietnam as a socialist, independent, united and prosperous country. For the past 30 years the reactionary clique among the Beijing rulers has steadily pursued a line of division of Vietnam and its weakening and subordination to China...", the collection emphasizes (p 222). The authors support this conclusion with numerous facts related to various periods of Vietnamese-Chinese relations. They firmly expose the expansionistic and hegemonistic ambitions of Beijing and its criminal conspiracy with imperialism. "In connection with the dark plans

and hostile actions and increasingly impudent provocations of the Chinese reactionaries, our party promptly identified the new and exceptionally dangerous enemy of our people" (p 227).

As it develops its economy and strengthens its defense capability, the SRV is acting as a reliable strong point of the forces of peace and socialism in Southeast Asia. Vietnam became a member of CEMA in 1978. The treaties concluded between Vietnam and the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries are of great importance.

"The friendship and cooperation treaty signed between Vietnam and the Soviet Union inaugurated a new stage in the development of relations between our parties and countries," Le Duan emphasized. "Our people gained new strength for building socialism and defending the homeland by expanding its cooperation with the Soviet Union and all the other fraternal socialist countries. All of this is a contribution to stabilizing the situation in Southeast Asia and throughout the world" (p 229).

However, the enemies of Socialist Vietnam are not leaving it alone. Beijing, which is exerting naked pressure on the SRV, is particularly zealous. In the past, it had used the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea, armed provocations on the Sino-Vietnamese border, and so on, for this purpose. In February 1979 the Chinese expansionists launched a direct aggression against Vietnam. However, they were taught a severe lesson: in 30 days of battle the Chinese suffered 62,500 casualties and the aggressor lost a great deal of military ordnance (see p 235). This was a great victory won by Socialist Vietnam, which was supported by the Soviet Union, the other members of the socialist comity and all progressive mankind.

"The biggest defeat of the Chinese reactionaries, a defeat of strategic significance, is the fact that they were unable to shake or weaken the combat unity of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. This unity was not only preserved but was strengthened and increased, reaching a qualitatively new height," the book states (p 238).

Let us note that the Vietnamese revolution and its development are discussed in the collection in closest possible connection with the revolutionary processes in Laos and Kampuchea, thus providing the readers with a great deal of interesting information on the matter.

The party of the Vietnamese communists is one of the combat detachments of the international communist movement. During its more than 50-year-old history it has always considered itself responsible not only for the destinies of its people but for the implementation of its international duty. "Infinitely loyal to proletarian internationalism," Comrade Le Duan has pointed out, "our party considers the Vietnamese revolution a structural part of the world revolution. It is steadily fulfilling its international duty, enjoying the respect and love of comrades and friends on all five continents" (p 283).

The time of the Fifth CPV Congress is approaching. The congress will become a major event in the history of the CPV. Surmounting difficulties and

increasing its rich experience, the vanguard of the Vietnamese people is confidently leading the country from one victory to another. The materials in the collection are imbued with a spirit of historical optimism, which is entirely characteristic of the VCP. In an unforgettable statement, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said about the CPV that "no political force other than a Marxist-Leninist party could have been able to arm the struggling people with such clear understanding of the objectives of the struggle and to give them such a great inspiration for mass exploits."

The Soviet people feel close to Vietnam and to its revolutionary merits and military and labor exploits. The Vietnamese revolution has covered a difficult path which required the maximal concentration of the spiritual and physical forces of the entire people and their tested vanguard--the communist party. This makes this new book, which describes the comprehensive experience of the CPV and vividly depicts the character of heroic Vietnam, the more interesting to the Soviet readers.

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## THEORETICAL ROSTRUM OF CUBAN COMMUNISTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 82 p 120

[Review by Z. Sokolova, candidate of historical sciences, of CUBA SOCIALISTA, a quarterly journal]

[Text] The first issue of CUBA SOCIALISTA ("Socialist Cuba"), a quarterly journal, came out in Havana at the end of December 1981.

The declaration of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo published in that issue notes that the second congress of Cuban communists based its decision to publish a theoretical organ on the need to ensure the active dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas in Cuba, to explain and propagandize the party line and policy, the achievements and experience of Cuba and other countries in building socialism, the successes of the workers, communist and national liberation movements, the further intensification of revolutionary theory and the development and study of social problems with a view to assisting the ideological and political growth of the party members and the entire people.

The Politburo stresses that the experience in building the party, which now has almost half a million members, and the socioeconomic and political progress achieved by the country create favorable prerequisites for the effective implementation of the obligations assumed by the journal. "CUBA SOCIALISTA," the preface notes, is the legitimate heir "of the patriotic, labor, revolutionary and communist press, which kept alive the traditions of loyalty to the cause of our people in their struggle for independence and national sovereignty, their loyalty to the party and the invincible ideals of Marxism-Leninism throughout the entire history of our homeland."

The monthly CUBA SOCIALISTA, which was published from September 1981 to February 1987, and which played a noteworthy role in the theoretical interpretation of the very rich and characteristic experience of the Cuban revolution, was the journal's predecessor.

The interval between these two journals was saturated with events of historical significance: the First and Second CCP Congresses were held, the party's program and bylaws were adopted, a tremendous amount of work was done for the ideological-theoretical and moral education of the party members and the broad toiling masses, and the party's organizational structure was

strengthened. The party's status as the highest leading force of society and the state was constitutionally codified.

The greeting published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces stresses the unbreakable tie between the forward development of the Cuban revolution and the defense of its achievements.

Contributors to the first issue include Carlos Raphael Rodriguez CC CP of Cuba Politburo and Secretariat member, who discusses the strategic foundations of Cuban foreign policy, Julian Riso Alvarez, CC Secretariat member, who describes qualitatively new features of the 1980-1981 sugar cane crop, and Fabio Grobart, Central Committee member and director of the Institute of History of the Communist Movement and the Socialist Revolution, who explains the process of the establishment of the Cuban Communist Party.

The journal also carries articles on the Nicaraguan revolution, Jose Marti's anti-imperialist and internationalist views, and others.

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## START OF A RISKY GAME

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 5, Mar 82 pp 121-126

[Review by V. Kuzmenko of the following books on the history of attempts at rapprochement between the United States and nationalistic groups in the leadership of the CPC in the 1940s: "SShA i Narodnaya Revolyutsia v Kitaye" [The United States and the People's Revolution in China] by A. M. Ledovskiy. Nauka, Moscow, 1979, 215 pages (I); "Kitay v Strategii Amerikanskogo Imperializma" [China in the Strategy of American Imperialism] by V. V. Kuz'min. Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1978, 272 pages (II); "Kitay i SShA: 60-70ye Gody" [China and the United States in the 1960s-1970s] by B. V. Vorontsov. Nauka, Moscow, 1979, 172 pages (III); and "Maoizm: Ugroza Voyny" [Maoism: The Threat of War]. A study of the militaristic nature of Maoist ideology and politics by D. A. Volkogonov. Voenizdat, Moscow, 1981, 238 pages (IV)]

[Text] In June 1981 it was decided in Washington to strike off the PRC from the list of "nonfriendly communist countries" and to consider it henceforth a "friendly developing country." The decision was made public by U. S. Secretary of State A. Haig during his visit to Beijing.

With this decision the new U. S. administration in principle granted China the opportunity to acquire American means for waging modern warfare, including offensive weapons, the export of which to "unfriendly" countries is banned on the basis of special restrictions. This was one more step, which drastically increased the threat to peace, in the partnership between the Beijing hegemonists and aggressive Western circles, the United States above all, a partnership which was a dangerous phenomenon in world politics even before this step was taken.

In this case, let us point out that the current conspiracy between Washington and Beijing has a relatively long history, the beginning of which dates back to the 1930s, when Washington began to show an interest in the nationalistic elements in the CPC leadership. Already then Mao Zedong kept secretly in touch with Americans connected with U. S. government circles. Later, in the 1940s, American politicians made active efforts to use the nationalistic aspirations of some CPC leaders rallied around Mao for the sake of implementing their imperialist plans. In turn, the latter were interested in a rapprochement with the United States, hoping to gain American support not only in their rivalry with the Kuomintang but on a longer-range basis. At



that time such contacts were neither established nor officially legitimized for a number of foreign and domestic policy reasons. However, the factors which had created them became increasingly apparent in Sino-American relations as of the end of the 1960s, when the CPC took the road of open alliance with imperialism and the reaction on an antisocialist and anti-Soviet basis.

United States efforts to establish contacts with nationalistic elements in the CPC leadership in the 1940s have been frequently described in our publications. Many interesting books on this topic can be cited, such as "SShA i Kitay" [The United States and China] by S. Sergeychuk (Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1973); the collection of articles "Natsionalisticheskaya Politika Gruppy Mao Tsze-duna i SShA" [The Nationalistic Policy of Mao Zedong's Group and the United States] (Nauka, Moscow, 1968); "Osoby Rayon Kitaya. 1942-1945" [The Special Province of China, 1942-1945] by P. Vladimirov (Izdatel'stvo APN, Moscow, 1973); "Delo 'Amereysha'" [The Amerasia Case] by V. Vorontsov (Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya, Moscow, 1974) and others.

Let us focus in our review of new works on Sino-American rapprochement published in recent years mainly on the most important facts and conclusions they contain, related to the history of such contacts. In our view, they are of great interest also because they make use of a wide range of documents related to that period, now declassified by the U. S. Department of State and the Congress.

Let us recall in most general terms the circumstances which prevailed at the beginning of the 1940s. Unparalleled battles between the Red Army and the fascist aggressors were being waged on the Soviet-German front. The United States and the other members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition were conducting military operations against fascist Germany and militaristic Japan. Since 1937 the Chinese people had been engaged in a difficult struggle against the Japanese occupation forces....

While the communists and all progressive forces throughout the world were directing their efforts on organizing the resistance to Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism, the nationalistic forces in the CPC, headed by Mao Zedong, became energized. Hiding in Yunnan -- China's Special Province -- instead of organizing the active fight against the Japanese militarists Mao and his closest circle mounted within the party a campaign of terror against honest communists-internationalists and encouraged nationalistic and anti-Soviet feelings in party cadres. This did not remain unnoticed by American intelligence and diplomats stationed in China.

According to U. S. Department of State documents, which were made public in 1956, active efforts to promote a rapprochement between Washington and Mao's group were initiated as early as 1942, when L. (Carrie), President Roosevelt's aide, visited Chungking as the President's personal envoy. Chu En-Lai, who was then in Chungking, sent several messages to the envoy via American embassy personnel. In one of them Mao Zedong and Chu En-lai suggested that direct contacts be established between Washington and China's Special Province (see I, p 29). This, however, was not done.

In the summer of 1944, the decisive victories of the Soviet Union over Hitlerite Germany brought the victorious end of the war closer. In July 1944, the United States asked for another meeting of the heads of governments of the USSR, the United States and Great Britain on reaching an agreement on the Soviet Union's joining in the war against Japan....

At that time, the United States began to show particular interest in using the areas under CPC control in the struggle against the Japanese forces, which had mounted a counteroffensive and which were pressing the Kuomintang armies, which relied on extensive American military and economic aid. The United States was not only trying to accomplish immediate military objectives but was also hoping that while the Soviet Union was involved in the fight against Germany, it would be able to strengthen its political and economic positions in China at the final stage of the war in order to assume a dominant position in the Far East. One of the main objectives which motivated the Americans to establish contacts with Mao Zedong was the possibility of gaining access to areas in Northern China and Manchuria, which were important to the United States.

The first group of American observers from the "Mission Dixie" reached Yunnan on 22 July 1944. The group included professional secret agents. In this connection, we find the following entries in P. P. Vladimirov's Yunnan diaries ("Osoby Rayon Kitaya...", see pages 301-303, 306-307 and 309-310): "15 July. A long conversation with Mao Zedong... 'The American position plays a tremendous role in terms of our future,' the CC CPC chairman said... Now he...intends to ally himself mainly with the United States and England. I think that all this conceals something else, which the CC CPC chairman does not want to discuss... Mao Zedong and his supporters clearly intend to blackmail the allies with the myth USSR aggressiveness, alleging that the USSR is dreaming of absorbing China (especially Manchuria). This scarecrow will be one of the most important arguments for a rapprochement between the United States and Great Britain and Yunnan in the future... 22 July. A day of great triumph for Mao Zedong! The first nine members of the American mission arrived in Yunnan... The entire CPC leadership was at the airport to welcome them... 1 August. My experience from previous meetings with American career military has convinced me of their deeply rooted anti-Soviet feelings which, in many of them, have developed into open Russophobia. The cadre intelligence and political officers, who are members of this mission, are no exception..."

Other facts prove the increased interest on the part of the United States in the nationalistic elements in the CPC leadership. In the Special Province, contacts with Mao and his retinue were maintained by American observers and journalists, such as E. Snow, A. L. Strong, H. Forman and others, who worked hard to spread Mao's views through the American press. Representatives of American special services frequently visited people's liberation bases. The American General J. Stilwell, chief of staff of the Kuomintang, his associates and the personnel of the U. S. embassy in China (II, pp 16-17) actively wanted to establish contacts with the CPC leadership. Thus, in November 1944, General P. Hurley, the ambassador, acting as the personal representative of the American President, travelled from Chungking to Yunnan for talks with Mao on the possibility of establishing a coalition government

in China, legalizing all anti-Japanese political parties and combining the armed forces under CPC and Kuomintang control for the purpose of fighting Japan (I, pp 30-33).

But let us go back to the trip to Yunnan by the Mission Dixie and the nature of its talks with Mao and his retinue. In 1970, when the process of normalizing Sino-American relations was under way, the Internal Security Subcommittee of the U. S. Senate Legal Affairs Committee published a two-volume collection of documents (reports and materials of the Departments of State and Defense, official diplomatic reports and notes, etc.), titled "Amerasia Documents: Key to the Chinese Catastrophe." Most of the documents had been drafted by J. Service, who had gone to Yunnan in 1944-1945 as member of the Mission Dixie. He had recorded about 50 talks with heads of the CPC, addressed to Stilwell and subsequently to General A. Viedemeier. Service's reports were awaited in Washington quite eagerly, although he was only a second secretary. On 6 September 1944, H. Hopkins, Roosevelt's assistant, deemed it necessary to report to the President that "The first communication from Jack Service on the situation in the communist areas of Northern China has been received" (see "Delo 'Amereysa'," p 35).

During their talks with Service, Mao and the members of his closest retinue emphasized their pro-American views. In this respect the record of one of the last talks between Service and Mao, held on 13 March 1945, on long-term problems of Sino-American relations, is indicative. Mao spoke favorably of the prospects for relations between China and the United States, saying that "America is not only the proper country to help China in its economic development. The United States is also the only country which will be able to fully participate in China's development" (II, p 22).

Once again through the Mission Dixie Mao explored the possibility of being invited to the United States together with Chu, or else to have either one of them invited in order to convince the American leadership that it was he rather than Chiang Kay-shek who held the real power in China and that the United States would find it more profitable to support him instead of Chiang. If this were to happen, he insisted, U. S. interests in China would benefit rather than suffer. In accordance with his wish to establish close relations with the United States, Mao suggested that official American missions, propaganda centers, news bureaus and even religious missions be opened in the areas under CPC control. He was prepared to place the CPC armed forces under a single command in China, headed by Americans, and promised to help the Americans land troops. He welcomed American capital investments in areas under CPC control and the organization of economic and technical cooperation (see I, p 30).

However, political flirtation with the "reds" triggered the indignation of the most reactionary circles in the United States and brought to light major differences in Washington itself. The U. S. ruling circles maintained close ties with the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek regime, which loyally promoted their imperialistic policy in China. A political scandal broke out on 28 February 1945, when a group of American diplomats and political advisers in Chungking, close to General Stilwell, addressed a memorandum to Washington, in which they suggested that unconditional support of the Kuomintang be

abandoned in favor of supporting all factions and parties, including the CPC in order to "defeat Japan as quickly as possible with the least possible American casualties." The memorandum was rejected and its authors were asked to leave China (Stilwell had already been recalled on Chiang Kai-shek's request). Furthermore, many diplomats and journalists, who had criticized Chiang Kai-shek and advocated the establishment of relations with the CPC were fired (see I, p 34).

On the other hand, the efforts which Mao and his circle made to achieve a rapprochement with the ruling U. S. circles were equally doomed. With the victory of the USSR in the war against Hitlerite Germany and militaristic Japan, and particularly after the liberation of Manchuria by the Red Army, the Chinese broad toiling strata were expressing feelings of most profound friendship with the Soviet Union and were firmly opposed to U. S. imperialist intrigues. The nationalistic elements around Mao could not ignore the feelings of the masses. In order not to lose their authority among the people, they resorted to political mimicry. "Delo 'Amereyzha'" cites the following fact: On 7 July 1946 the CPC addressed a sharp protest on the subject of continuing U. S. military and financial support of the Kuomintang government, in which American policy was described as aimed at unleashing civil war in China. The day after the declaration was made public, Chu En-lai wrote to General G. Marshall that "These objections and criticism should in no case be considered a hostile attitude on the part of the communists toward the American people and the U. S. government in general" (p 80).

Mao and his circle continued to meet with Americans subsequently as well and, in an effort to exacerbate Soviet-American relations, confidentially told their collocutors that they continued to favor the active involvement of the United States in resolving the problems of China. The declassified diplomatic documents for 1947 include an interesting report by J. Stuart, the then U. S. ambassador to China. In a document dated 6 January 1947, he reports that during a meeting with General Marshall, who was visiting China in his capacity as the personal representative of the U. S. President, Chu En-lai had said that with its policy of support of the Kuomintang government, which was harmful to CPC interests, "the United States is pushing the communists into the arms of the Russians and undermining their sympathy for the United States." Stuart remarked that "This may have been a sincere declaration, a statement for effect, or possibly both" (I, p 164). Be that as it may, the Americans took into consideration the fact that Mao and his circle felt no particular sympathy for the Soviet Union. Thus, a U. S. National Security Council document of 30 December 1949 (i.e., after the founding of the PRC) cites a directive issued by the administration in Washington on the importance of using "through suitable political, psychological and economic means any differences between the Chinese communists and the USSR" (Ibid., p 172).

Direct contacts between Washington and Beijing were resumed soon after the end of the Korean War, at the time when direct negotiations between the PRC and the United States were initiated. In the course of the 1954 Geneva conference on a peaceful settlement of the problems of Korea and Vietnam, the Chinese representatives actively encouraged the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Americans; starting with 1955, regular meetings began to be held between the U. S. and PRC ambassadors, first in Geneva and then in

Warsaw. Beijing used these occasions for informing the United States about China's positions on problems touching on its interests and encouraging the American side to seek grounds for mutual understanding. The real meaning of these contacts became apparent later, when Beijing did everything possible to oppose the active help which the socialist countries were giving the fighting Vietnamese people during the American armed intervention in Vietnam, thus helping the imperialist policy of the aggressive U. S. circles in Asia (see III, pp 10, 27).

Being nationalistic pragmatists, Mao and his circle realized that after the victory of the Chinese revolution the PRC would be unable to gain international recognition, assume its proper place in the world arena and eliminate its age-old socioeconomic backwardness without the economic, political and other aid and moral support of the USSR. All of this forced the Maoist leadership carefully to conceal its intentions for the time being. Thus, prior to his departure from Moscow, Mao Zedong publicly declared on 17 February 1950 that "The Soviet experience in economic and cultural construction and in other most important areas will be the example which will be followed in building the new China." Meanwhile, in his closed-session speeches he continued to slander our country maliciously, secretly preparing for a break with the world communist movement (to those who would like to study in greater detail Mao's double-dealing behavior, we recommend the collection "Maoizm Bes Prikras" [Unvarnished Maoism], prepared by M. L. Altayskiy, and published by Progress in 1980. The collection includes some already familiar statements by "the great helmsman," as well as some previously unpublished in the Chinese press).

We know that toward the end of the 1950s, when the withdrawal of the Chinese leadership from Marxism-Leninism became obvious, that it engaged in subversive activities against the communist movement and the socialist comity. Since then, our party has frequently warned that the Beijing leadership was concentrating its fire not on imperialism but on the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties and that Beijing was operating from the positions of great-power chauvinism and petit bourgeois adventurism, with a view to exacerbating rather than eliminating differences, hiding behind extremist revolutionary slogans. Like all Marxists-Leninists, the Soviet communists became legitimately concerned with facts which proved that already then the policy of the imperialist countries had taken a different turn regarding China. Comrade M. A. Suslov stressed in his February 1964 CC CPSU Plenum speech that "inevitably, pursuing their wrong anti-Leninist path, the Chinese leaders were bound to achieve an actual rapprochement with the imperialist reactionary elements..." And that is precisely what happened.

V. B. Vorontsov's book on this subject analyzes the development of relations between the PRC and the United States in the 1960s-1970s in the light of the increasingly anti-Soviet trends in Beijing's foreign policy. In his study of the normalizing of Sino-American relations, the author exposes the unprincipled position of the Maoist upper crust, which is trying to use the "American trump" against the Soviet Union and the interests of socialism as a whole. He points out in particular, that during President Nixon's visit to the PRC in February 1972, those same Chinese political leaders who had associated with representatives of the United States as early as the 1940s were present

at the most important meetings with the Americans. In addition to Mao Zedong and Chu En-lai, this frequently included E Zanyin, Huang Hua, Deng Yinchao and others. In the United States, people who had been deeply involved in China's problems in WW II -- that same J. Service, Ch. Ronning, B. Tuckman, S. Topping and others -- were promoting the rapprochement with the PRC. In other words, Beijing's new strategic foreign policy concepts were based on past experience. However, the Sino-American rapprochement was "politically unrelated to the development of Chinese nationalism and great-power aspirations, which had gained the upper hand in the 1960s and were helping the restoration of traditional feudal-chauvinistic Sinocentric doctrine in foreign policy" (III, p 7).

Initially, the Maoist leadership justified its political rapprochement with the United States by citing the need for a "temporary compromise" with imperialism for the sake of concentrating the efforts against enemy No 1 -- "Soviet revisionism." Nationalism and chauvinism, which were manifested in the great-power hegemonistic aspirations of the Maoist leadership, became the determining factor in the behavior of the Maoist leaders (see II, p 4).

As shown in the collection "Maoizm Bez Prikras," Mao Zedong was possessed by the idea of restoring the former grandeur of the Chinese empire. It was precisely Sinocentrism and hegemonism that had led to his great-power chauvinistic ideas of the "wind from the East" which will "prevail over the "wind from the West," the "conquest of the globe," etc. Thus, in addressing the expanded session of the CC CPC Military Council on 11 September 1959, Mao pontificated that "We must conquer the globe. The entire globe is our target. We shall not as yet talk about the sun. As to the moon, Mercury and Venus -- all 8 planets in addition to Earth -- they may be explored or visited, if that is possible at all. As to working and fighting, in my view the most important is our own globe, where we shall create a powerful state. We must become imbued with the resolve to do so" (p 223).

In his book, discussing the Sinocentric approach to history and the modern world, Lt Gen D. A. Volkogonov writes: "This view has always called for a special, central messianic position for China in global social development, the role of savior of world civilization. This conceptual tradition had been handed down by Confucius and numerous Chinese emperors. In the 1940s...Mao wanted to rely on the United States as he pursued his far-reaching objectives... At that time he was unable to carry out his plans for a number of reasons...and was forced to ally himself with the USSR. As has now become apparent, this was a temporary alliance... In the 1970s, Mao's Sinocentrism was manifested differently, as the notorious concept of the "three worlds." However, it remained essentially the same: to try to position forces around the earth in such as way as to enable China to assume the most advantageous position possible" (IV, pp 137-138).

The U. S. imperialist circles, which are welcoming today the anti-Sovietism of the present Beijing leadership with such euphoria, are celebrating prematurely, for in Maoist Sinocentrist doctrine there is a place for China only. According to the Beijing leaders, its hegemony in the international arena is the basic and unquestionable guarantee of "prosperity" on earth.

"Such ideas, born of a great-China outlook, have directly influenced the shaping of PRC foreign policy, including relations with the United States" (III, p 144).

Possessed by imperialistic ambitions, the U. S. politicians fear the very idea that in its adventuristic game with them, Beijing could play its own "American trump." Any information on this account triggers an extremely irked response in official Washington. Such was the case in January 1977, when a secret report allegedly submitted by Geng Biao, the current minister of national defense, who was then head of the CC CPC International relations Department, was published by a Hong Kong newspaper. The report pointed out that one of Beijing's basic objectives was to instigate a confrontation between the United States and the USSR, while concentrating on strengthening its own military power. The newspaper quoted Geng Biao as saying openly that "When we decide that the time has come, we will tell Uncle Sam 'be good enough to pack up and go'."

The next embarrassment to the White House and the Department of State came from an FBIS publication of a statement made by Huang Hua at a secret conference held at China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in January 1981. Apparently, the minister of foreign affairs also told his associates that "The United States is China's temporary ally. Once China has obtained from it everything possible and necessary it will quickly break relations with Washington and pursue its independent policy."

Regardless of how speculative such information, which could equally originate in Beijing and Taipeh, may be, the most intriguing part of this story is the fact that Washington's request for an explanation by its Chinese partners has not received a clear answer: it is neither denied nor confirmed.

In its expansionistic foreign policy strategy the Beijing upper crust also relies on the concept of "gaining time." "In public and particularly in confidential statements, the Chinese leaders now frequently state that at present China is still weak and time is needed before it can assume a position in the world 'which is rightfully China's.' The time usually mentioned is in the vicinity of the year 2000. It is precisely by then that the Maoist leaders hope to have turned China into a powerful militaristic country capable of having a decisive influence on the fate of the world" (IV, p 141).

For the time being, China is forced to accept today's reality. "Its possibilities are still quite limited. However, this should not encourage placidity and carelessness among peace-loving forces. China is an impressive militaristic power already capable of adventures," writes D. A. Volkogonov in concluding his thorough study of the expansionistic nature of Maoist ideology and politics (Ibid., pp 141-142).

Therefore, the political game between Washington and the Maoist leadership in the CPC began 40 years ago. At that time, the reactionary U. S. circles, blinded by anticommunism, were unable profit from the nationalistic aspirations of the Mao Zedong group, which had garbed itself in communist clothing. This became possible only at the beginning of the 1980s, when

Washington's caveman anticommunism began to come closer to Beijing's frenzied anti-Sovietism in the form of a military and political partnership.

"The readiness of the United States, Japan and many NATO countries to expand their military-political relations with China," the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress states, "conceals the simple intention of using China's hostility toward the Soviet Union and the socialist comity in its own imperialist interests. This is a risky game!"

It is with this that from the rostrum of its congress our party has drawn the attention of all those who care for the peace and security of the nations on the dangerous adventurism of the aggressive Western forces, the United States above all, and the Beijing hegemonists.

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